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TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST  
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28 September 1977

## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 12, August 1977

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year). Where certain articles, reprinted from other Russian-language sources, are not translated, indication of this fact is made in the table of contents.

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## APPEAL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 p 3

[Text] On the anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the parties signatories of this appeal come out against the production of a neutron bomb planned by the U.S. government. They expose the barbaric nature of this weapon whose purpose is the cold blooded destruction of millions of people.

Such a step would heat up further the arms race and create new threats to international peace. The parties appeal to all peace-loving forces, socialists, social democrats, and Christians in particular, to come out for a continuation of the policy of detente and for safeguarding the peace through the adoption of effective disarmament measures which is a prerequisite for overcoming military blocs including their disbandment. They turn to the peoples with the appeal to act in favor of a cessation of the arms race, the nuclear arms race in particular. Prior to the total ban of mass destruction weapons the development and manufacturing of new types of such weapons should be banned.

Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Denmark, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Ireland, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of Austria, Polish United Workers Party, Portuguese Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, Swedish Left Wing Party-Communists, Swiss Labor Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of the United States, Communist Party of Spain, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Turkey, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, and Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL).

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## PARTY GUIDANCE OF THE ECONOMY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 4-12

[Text] Economic development is a subject of particular concern of the Communist Party. With every passing year the theory and practice of the party's guidance of economic construction is becoming richer. The most important principle of this guidance is the elaboration and implementation of a scientific economic policy based on Marxist-Leninist theory. The party attentively analyzes the occurring quantitative and qualitative changes in the economy, and determines the ways of the further development of the national economy and its individual sectors in accordance with the requirements of the moment, the growing demands of society, and available resources and material possibilities.

Under the conditions of the developed socialist society the importance of the party's guidance of the economy, as of other realms of life in the country continues to grow by virtue of the general trend of the growth of the guiding role of the CPSU in the building of communism. The essential lines followed on basic problems of party economic policy at the stage of mature socialism were provided, as we know, by the 24th party congress. The 25th congress developed these lines and concretized them in terms of the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan and on a longer-range basis. On the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress it earmarked the ways for a further powerful upsurge of industry and agriculture, for increasing the production of consumer goods, and improving trade and population services.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" clearly characterized the achievements of our country in the development of the socialist economy. It emphasizes that the party formulated and is systematically implementing an economic strategy aimed at reaching fundamental long-term objectives the highest among which is the steadfast upsurge of the material and cultural living standards of the people. The decree speaks of the importance of increasing further the country's economic power and of the implementation of tasks such as the dynamic and proportional development of output, the all-round improvement

of work quality and the fast growth of labor productivity, the expansion and radical renovation of capital assets, and insuring the stable balancing of the growth of heavy industry--the foundation of the economy. The decree notes that it is precisely on the basis of the dynamic development of the economy that the social aspect of Soviet society is acquiring new features. Class disparities are eliminated further and the social homogeneity of Soviet society strengthens.

The profound interconnection among the political, economic, and social tasks of the Soviet state has been vividly reflected in the draft of the new USSR Constitution. It legislatively codifies the leading and guiding role of the CPSU as the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society and formulates the basic principles for economic guidance constituting the integral national economic complex of the country. More completely than in the 1936 constitution the draft formulates the broad socioeconomic rights and political freedoms of USSR citizens, truly democratic in nature and content. The reliable base of these rights and freedoms is found in our tremendous accomplishments in the development of the planned socialist economy and in the steady growth of the material and spiritual potential of society.

The main guarantee for success at each stage in the building of communism is the elaboration of a proper policy true to the line of development and consistent with the characteristics of the given stage. "We have such a policy and line," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. "Therefore, organization, i.e., the further improvement of economic management in the broadest meaning of the term, becomes the decisive link."

As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, the essence of organizational problems is for everyone who has the necessary rights and, within their range, bears full responsibility, to carry out his assignment. This basic rule of life is also the very foundation of the science and practice of management. The party emphasizes the political side of the problem, bearing in mind that the efficiently organized uninterrupted work of the entire economic mechanism is the most important factor in bringing to light the talents of the people. It contributes to upgrading the creative initiative of the masses and to the establishment of a good and efficient atmosphere in the labor collectives.

Indicating the important and ever-growing role of the realm of management, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that on the fronts of the building of a communist economy the science of winning is, essentially, the science of managing. The party sets a number of tasks directly related to the organizational and political aspects of improving party and economic management of the economy. Great attention is assigned to improving planning and upgrading the level of all planning work. Here it is important to concentrate forces and resources for the implementation of the most important nationwide programs, skillfully combine sectorial with territorial development, resolve long-term and current problems, and insure a better balancing of the economy and the dynamic and proportional growth of the entire public production process. The

party also emphasizes the need to improve the organizational structure and methods of management. It directs all planning and management activities toward achieving the highest end national economic results with available resources. It demands the fuller utilization of economic and moral incentives and levers and the paying of greater attention to the selection and education of cadres, and to their training and retraining, and to improving the economic training of the working people.

The most important prerequisite for successful party management of the economy is the Leninist style of work, a creative style imbued with a scientific approach to all social phenomena. It is most closely linked with improving the ways and means of party work and presumes the strict observance by all party organizations of the Leninist norms of party life and principles of party guidance. It requires the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems, the organic combination of economic with educational work, the further improvement of control and supervision of execution, and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee decrees passed for their development, and the documents of the October 1976 and May 1977 Central Committee plenums arm party and people with a clear program for action. The successful beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan proved the readiness of the Soviet people to work selflessly for the implementation of the party's plans. We are going ahead firmly and confidently. Our possibilities--material and spiritual--have grown immeasurably and are continuing to grow. Never before has our country had such a powerful economic and scientific and technical potential. Never before have we had such a huge army of skilled cadres. Never before have we relied on such a rich experience in economic construction, creatively interpreted and summed up by the party. All this enables us to formulate and resolve ever-more complex and broad problems.

The great and intensive work of the higher party organs was noted at the 25th party congress. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo regularly deals with problems of industry, agriculture, capital construction, and management improvements at all the levels of the state and economic apparatus. It pays particular attention to raising the material and cultural living standards of the Soviet people.

The most important problems in the life of the party and the country are resolved at Central Committee plenums which equip the party members and all Soviet people with specific studies of topical economic problems, giving priority to tasks requiring maximal concentration of efforts. This was characteristically confirmed by the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum which considered profoundly and comprehensively the results of the work done after the 25th congress, earmarked ways for the further implementation of its decisions, and determined the work sectors needing the greatest attention of party, state, soviet, economic, and public organs and organizations.

The party's Central Committee is attentively studying and summing up the experience acquired in the party's economic guidance. It directs and coordinates the work of planning and financial organs. It helps to energize the activities of scientists in the fields of improving current and long-term planning, and scientific elaboration of management problems. It comprehensively supports and strengthens the links between science and production. The CPSU Central Committee regularly discusses the activities of central committees of communist parties of union republics, and of kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees and primary party organizations; it elaborates measures aimed at upgrading further the level of all organizational-party and ideological work. The Central Committee decrees dealing with various aspects of the building of communism formulate specific tasks for the party and the state.

The party's Central Committee and its local organs and organizations are trying to resolve these problems taking maximally into consideration the contemporary stage of social development and the prospects for the growth of mature socialism into communism. They always keep in sight the main problems of development of the socialist economy and promote the coordinated work of ministries and departments, and of scientific, design, and construction establishments and organizations. The party's organizational work contributes to the solution of most important problems such as the better disposition of production forces, the rational utilization of natural resources from the viewpoints of output and environmental protection, the development of new territories, and the building of big industrial zones and new cities; and the deeper development of economic relations among union and autonomous republics and individual industrial areas. Particular attention is paid to foreign economic activities and, particularly, to the further intensification of relations with socialist countries.

The high level of party guidance, consistent with contemporary requirements, would have been impossible without a profound scientific knowledge of the ways and trends of social development at the contemporary stage, and without a feeling for the future. The formulation of current and long-term plans and control of economic processes brook no narrow-mindedness, formalism, or unnecessary meetings. It presumes a scientific approach, adamant organizational work, and all-embracing control over the implementation of state plans and party decisions. Guiding the economy it is important to struggle irreconcilably against manifestations of subjectivism, parochialism, and departmentalism, and to promote the organic combination of centralism with democracy. Popular initiative must be comprehensively supported and it is in the interest of the cause to draw ever-more extensively on scientists, specialists, and production leaders in the elaboration and implementation of party and economic decisions.

The duty of the party committees is to develop in managers and all working people a thrifty attitude toward assigned resources and toward the huge funds allocated by the state for the further development of the economy. A party committee could do a great deal for the successful utilization of everything that is new and progressive. It must oppose hasty and subjectivistic decisions still made by individual management organizations and economic

managers. Relying on the support of the party organization and his party group, every party member must make a personal contribution to the implementation of planned assignments and socialist pledges, and in the struggle for economy and thrift and for high labor standards and effectiveness at each workplace. Incidentally, one of the distinguishing features of the CPSU is that its economic policy is implemented by both the big party leader and the rank and file party member with full responsibility to society and to the Soviet people.

All party committees, whether they represent the party organization of a republic, kray, oblast, city, or rayon, must exercise a decisive and purposeful influence on the implementation of governmental plans and party directives. It must require the systematic implementation of its economic policy and strategy. Here the preparedness and competence of party workers are of great importance. In this connection it is a positive fact that with every passing year an ever-larger number of specialists in various fields of knowledge possessing, furthermore, organizational capabilities and experience in party and economic work become workers within the party apparatus, secretaries, and even members of party committees and party bureaus at enterprises and organizations. This upgrades the level of the party's guidance of the economy. Also important to the success of all political, organizational, and educational work among the masses is the fact that the influence of party committees on the work of the mass organizations of the working people, the trade unions above all, is growing.

In this case we could take many party committees as an example. Skillfully surmounting difficulties, they are improving their guidance of the economy and resolving complex problems ever-more skillfully. Difficulties in the fulfillment of production plans arise not only as a result of insufficiently planned activities and all kinds of underfulfillment of tasks by local economic organs or by managements of enterprises and construction projects. Occasionally, as was mentioned at the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, this is also the result of a certain stress of individual elements of the five-year plan due to the complexity of meeting in full the needs of all links within the national economy or to planning shortcomings. "All this," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, "makes it incumbent upon ministries and departments, obkoms, kraykoms, and republic Communist Party central committees to find new reserves in the course of practical economic activities and strive toward higher accomplishments. All this demands of us to assume particular control precisely over sectors where coordination and difficulties remain as a result of resource shortages." It is precisely thus that all party organs and organizations in the country should act. They have acquired tremendous experience in mobilizing management and production personnel and their knowledge, skill, and mastery in the search for unused reserves and possibilities.

In this respect the experience of the party's guidance of the economy provided by the Voronezhskaya Oblast CPSU Committee is instructive. Several years ago the construction of a big water reservoir, unusual in terms of complexity

for the area, of interoblast significance, was launched in Voronezhskaya Oblast. Over 10 ministries participated in this work, for it was necessary to provide a comprehensive solution to the problems of equipping the biggest enterprises with industrial water, organize the "production" of drinking water, install treatment facilities at enterprises and urban services, create a recreation zone for the working people, build transportation arteries and power transmission lines, and so on. In the course of the large-scale work which developed the role of the oblast party committee was revealed to its fullest extent as the center combining and directing the efforts of many organizations and departments. Ministers and other senior workers from various departments met at the party's obkom to discuss the most urgent and complex problems and formulate joint programs for action and control. It was precisely then that business contacts among neighboring party obkoms strengthened and interoblast exchange of experience in party and economic work became regular.

Today these traditions are living and strengthening. Thus, the minister of petroleum refining and petrochemical industry and other senior workers came here to resolve problems related to the further development of two big Voronezh chemical enterprises. The minister and the obkom first secretary formulated the specific tasks for upgrading the capacities of existing production facilities, the expansion and technical retooling of the plants, the improvement of sanitary-hygienic labor conditions, the organization of new services, the implementation of measures related to environmental protection, and others. The fact that the enterprises themselves invested their funds in the construction of roads and a trolleybus depot on the territory of the microrayon, in preparing sites for the building of new residential structures, and in the solution of some other social problems was also very useful. Today the obkom and the ministry insure the implementation of the joint plan each with its own means and ways and forms of work.

A similar approach was adopted when the need arose to build industrial, transportation, and residential projects through joint efforts by Rossosha enterprises in Voronezhskaya Oblast, with the only difference being that together with the party obkom, not one but several ministries were "interested," for differently specialized enterprises operate in the city where a new big chemical plant is being constructed as well. Naturally, many problems arise such as, for example, coordinating the work of different organizations, developing united collectives of construction workers, their training (some of them will remain at work at the plant), and the strengthening of the party's guidance of the Komsomol organization. A party headquarters was set up at the construction site for the solution of these and other problems. It is headed by a second secretary of the party obkom.

The oblast party organization faced important tasks in connection with the implementation of a broad environmental protection program. A corresponding decision was passed by the obkom and the oblast executive committee on developing the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Protection of the Basins of the Black and Azov Seas

from Pollution" (1976). In this case state interests were affected demanding yet once again a comprehensive approach to the project and the efficient coordination of the efforts of a number of oblast organizations and, for a number of items, of several oblasts and krays. That is why in their decree the obkom and oblast executive committee did not limit themselves to formulating general tasks and recommendations. The decree contains specific assignments addressed to respective administrations, trusts, inspectorates, and construction and other organizations. It also resolves problems of the participation of enterprises in the construction of treatment and recovery projects. Furthermore, following the obkom's recommendation, the rayon executive committees set up environmental protection commissions. The oblast planning commission was instructed to control the use of the funds allocated for the implementation of the program; the local people's control organs were issued corresponding directives. Environmental protection engineers were hired by the enterprises, and the party committees are setting up groups specializing in such matters. The departments of the Voronezhskaya Oblast party committee and its commission in charge of controlling the condition of environmental protection supervise the implementation of the decree.

Many old enterprises remain in a number of cities and rayons in the country. How to breathe a new life into them? Reconstruction is what is necessary. This is not a brief campaign. It is a policy related to the solution of a large number of economic and social problems affecting the interests both of the state and of thousands of working people who must use old equipment related to considerable outlays of manual labor under conditions way below modern requirements. "Material and financial resources," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, "must be channeled above all into the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises wherever it is possible to increase production capacities without new construction or with lower specific capital outlays."

In 1972 the CPSU Central Committee approved the experience of the Sverdlovsk party organization on increasing output through the reconstruction of existing enterprises with minimal capital investments. It noted that the oblast party organization is developing the creative initiative of party members and all working people for upgrading production effectiveness, accelerating scientific and technical progress, and increasing labor productivity; the purposeful organizational and mass-political work conducted here is making a substantial contribution to the development of the country's economy. The CPSU Central Committee recommended the extensive dissemination of the experience of party organizations at leading enterprises. This experience has been extensively covered in the press and on the radio and television, and displayed at the USSR Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy. Numerous delegations of economic workers and scientists have visited Sverdlovsk plants and combines to study on the spot progressive reconstruction practices.

Presently reconstruction, as the most important governmental task, has become a truly nationwide project, yielding tremendous national economic results. The Voronezhkaya Oblast party organization has set itself, among others, the following objective: wherever even the smallest possibilities exist to engage in reconstruction without interrupting output. Following is an example. The initial reconstruction plan for the Voronezh branch of Giprokauchuk called for the total 2-month interruption of output at the synthetic rubber plant imeni Kirov. The plant's party committee and administration decided to dedicate all efforts to avoid this and suggested a reconstruction plan without interruption of output.

The initiative was approved by the CPSU obkom bureau. Implementing the decision, the party committees and bureaus of the plant, design institute, and construction organizations formulated measures for the joint implementation of the socialist obligations. A council of secretaries undertook to coordinate the work of the party committees and bureaus; senior party obkom workers participated in its work. Following the council's recommendations temporary party groups consisting of construction, installation, and production workers were set up and did good work. This made it possible to rally their efforts, and to surmount departmental divisions and lack of coordination in the work which, as we know, still frequently cause great harm to the national economy and result in tangible material and moral losses. The council of secretaries also periodically heard reports submitted by party members-economic managers on the work done. The objective was attained. The implementation of the reconstruction plans--incidentally, 1 year ahead of schedule--insured a 50 percent increase in the production of high-grade rubber without increasing the number of workers.

We are familiar with the accomplishments of the Leningrad Oblast party organization in insuring the use of intensive methods for economic development, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and increased reproduction with minimal capital outlays. It is also giving an example worthy of emulation in the comprehensive solution of economic and social problems and in comprehensively strengthening the ties between town and country and between industry and agriculture. A plan was formulated for the socioeconomic development of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast for the 10th Five-Year Plan, making it an integrated national economic complex. One of the most important aspects of the plan is the systematic implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree on the further development of specialization and concentration of agricultural output on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration. This is a document of tremendous theoretical, socioeconomic, and political significance, opening new horizons in the building of communism and the successful implementation of the CPSU's agrarian and overall economic policy.

As we know, the primary organizations are the foundations of our party. As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, they are in the front lines of economic and cultural construction, operating in the very thick of the people. All their work actively contributes to combining the party's policy with the live creativity of the masses.

The better the guidance of the party committees is the more fruitful the activities of primary party organizations become. On the other hand, the extent to which the primary party organizations work militantly and with initiative largely determines the end result of the party's guidance of the economy. They see it as their duty to contribute directly to upgrading production effectiveness and to be always concerned with the creation within each collective of an atmosphere of friendly work and creative search and with improving the working and living conditions of the people, improving the organization of all their training methods and insuring their spiritual growth. Relying on the most conscientious segment of the working people, the primary party organizations are raising all the members of the collective in a spirit of communist attitude toward labor and social ownership and intolerance of shortcomings; they promote the more extensive participation of the working people in production management. Under such circumstances everyone feels a full participant in the building of communism, and a master of the country and production, and safeguards and is proud of this. All party members have the duty to bear highly and worthily the party banner, follow Lenin's legacy, give the example in labor and social life, and be in the vanguard of the nationwide struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. This becomes even more important under conditions in which the problems which our party must resolve today, as was emphasized at the May 1977 Central Committee Plenum, have become even more complex and varied, when the role of the party has become greater, and when the scale of its directing influence has expanded.

Everything planned and implemented by the party is in the interest of all classes, social groups, and strata in Soviet society. That is why the working people of town and country are adamantly and persistently implementing the congress decisions. They try to bear highly the banner of the nationwide socialist competition under the slogan of "Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality for the Sake of the Further Growth of the Economy and the People's Prosperity!"

Socialist reality and the Soviet way of life make ever-new labor heroes. Thousands and thousands are going to the construction projects of the 10th Five-Year Plan, participating in the reconstruction of enterprises, and launching patriotic initiatives. The valuable initiatives undertaken in the Ninth Five-Year Plan, mentioned at the party congress, are meeting with the ever-broader support of the working people. Thus, the collective of the Automotive Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev, famous for its successes in the struggle for accelerating the practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology and for increasing the output of high-quality goods, supported the Il'ich initiative of "Workers' Guarantee for a Quality Five-Year Plan!" and appealed to all specialists to help production innovators raising the slogan of "Engineering Support of the Workers Initiative!" New valuable initiatives are being created. The Don industry working people gave an outstanding example in the implementation of the slogan of "Work Without Laggards." The Zapsib workers launched an appeal for saving metal, the country's tremendous resource.

Today the party committees and organizations are doing a great deal of work on summing up and disseminating leading production practice. Before supporting one or another experience or labor initiative they try soberly to assess its realistic nature and economic, social, and political significance, making sure that its dissemination could be given material and technical support. They see as another aspect of the matter to follow the all-round assessment and approval of an initiative with adamant work for the creation of the best possible conditions for obtaining maximal production and educational results from its utilization and support the movement of the working people for its extensive dissemination. The committees link the party's influence over improvements in the socialist competition with the thorough elaboration of economically substantiated socialist pledges and counterplans, with insuring result publicity, and the application of effective methods for the dissemination of best experience, and with the all-round assessment of intermediary and final competition results. Each of the competition participants must always be aware of the amount of output and its quality reached within a certain period by himself, his brigade, or his shop, and the savings achieved in labor, funds, materials, fuel, and electric power.

Desirous to intensify further the party's influence on the development of the economy and to improve the work of enterprises the party committees are seeking and finding ways to improve the organization of the work of their personnel and the party aktiv. Recently some party organs have introduced changes in the structure of their apparatus with a view to focusing the best efforts on guiding the economic sectors which, under their circumstances, are either particularly important or are in a "breakdown" state. In a number of oblasts the party committees have set up voluntary departments consisting of scientists, economists, sociologists, and experienced production workers with a view to insuring the fastest possible and more successful introduction of a comprehensive quality control system and other valuable innovations. The trend toward making joint coordinated decisions on most topical problems by obkoms and other local party organs, when they are jointly responsible for implementing the party's plans on the development of territorial complexes and industrial and agroindustrial associations, is intensifying.

We are well familiar with V. I. Lenin's words to the effect that politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Politics, however, is not the passive consequence of economic development. In turn, it purposefully influences the economy and predetermines the political approach to an entire range of problems related to economic construction and demands improvements in its guidance by the party. Equipped with the scientific Marxist-Leninist compass, the Communist Party is promoting the planned strengthening of the country's economic power and the reaching of new landmarks in the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism.

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SIXTY YEARS OF CREATIVE EMBODIMENT OF LENINIST IDEAS IN PARTY AND STATE APPARATUS WORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 13-28

[Article by K. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The new constitution of the USSR--the fundamental law of the Soviet state--will be adopted on the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. It will reflect the tremendous changes which have taken place in our country, in our entire society, not only in the period following the adoption of the 1936 constitution but during the entire history of the Soviet system. It is as though this document crowns the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and sheds a new light on our future.

At the May 1977 Central Committee Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that "Reading our new constitution the people will see even more clearly how extensive and varied are the rights and freedoms of the citizens of the socialist society. The world will see in its stipulations a state whose objective is the uninterrupted growth of the prosperity and culture of the entire people and of all its classes and groups without exception, and which is actively working to reach this objective."

The nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution is taking place. It indicates the high level of civic and political maturity of the Soviet people and their true interest in having the fundamental law proclaim and strengthen all most substantial aspects of our great achievements and open captivating possibilities. No other way is possible, for the Soviet people are the full masters of their country. The future constitution could be described with no exaggeration as the result of the collective mind of millions of people, a document of the highest democracy, and a law of the people for the good of the people. In the course of the discussions of the draft the long years of work of legal scientists, historians, economists, and sociologists, and the efforts of the personnel of the party and state apparatus will be multiplied by the mass constitutional creativity of the citizens of the Soviet Union.

Each line of this historical document convincingly proves the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary doctrine and the greatest accomplishments of the first socialist state of the whole people in the world achieved under CPSU guidance.

To us, Soviet people, communists and non-party members Leninism is an eternally live spring from which we draw ideas and wise counsel. The fact that the name of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin will be sealed into the new USSR Constitution is not only a mark of respect and gratitude to the great founder of the first socialist state in the world but a confirmation of the loyalty of the party and the people to his immortal legacy and revolutionary accomplishment.

## I

The Great October Socialist Revolution, whose 60th anniversary will be celebrated this year by our people and by all progressive mankind, laid the beginning of a new socialist era. The historical gunfire from the Aurora was the signal for storming the Winter Palace. It proclaimed the end of the old bourgeois-landlord state machinery with its bureaucratic apparatus and all possible means for the oppression and suppression of the people's masses.

New and previously unknown power and administrative organs were created along with the victory of the revolution and a Soviet Republic arose. It strengthened, matured, and acquired experience in fierce clashes with the enemies of the revolution, in the course of the daily constructive practice of socialist change. In the hands of the party and the people, under the Soviet system the administrative organs and their apparatus became a powerful lever for the implementation of the great tasks of socialist and communist building.

The history of the creation and development of the Soviet party and state apparatus is inseparably linked with the great Lenin. His first address to the working people, immediately following the victory of the October Revolution, was deeply symbolic. At the 25 October (7 November) 1917 session of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, Lenin said: "Above all, the significance of this coup is that we shall have a Soviet government, our own power organ, with no bourgeois participation whatever. The oppressed masses themselves will create the system. The old governmental apparatus will be razed and a new administrative apparatus will be set up represented by Soviet organizations" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 35, p 2).

V. I. Lenin theoretically elaborated the political and organizational foundations of the party and state apparatus, established its main tasks and functions, and was its first creator. Lenin's documents substantiate the principle of democratic centralism and clearly formulate the stipulations facing the party and state apparatus: consistency between political and economic problems resolved by the party and the Soviet state, strict

implementation of the party's policy, close ties with the masses, loyal service to the toiling people, and all-round respect for the interests of the socialist society. He formulated the most important qualities which must be possessed by the party and state apparatus: good management, industriousness, efficiency, operativeness, and organization. Lenin attentively watched the process of activities of the new apparatus. He frequently pointed out that the administration of the victorious working class must be free from the vices inherent in the bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus.

The destruction of the old administrative apparatus and the creation of the new was a tremendous accomplishment of the Soviet system. Assessing it, Lenin wrote: "Our state apparatus may be wretched. Nevertheless, it has been created. A great historical invention has been made" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, pp 108-109). He emphasized that "Without such an 'apparatus' we would have long perished. Without the systematic and adamant struggle for improving the apparatus we would perish before being able to create the base for socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 43, p 381).

The party's forces are greatly multiplied thanks to the fact that it is always relying on the soviets, the Komsomol, and the trade unions which are, as Lenin pointed out, the flexible and broad and powerful proletarian apparatus "through which the party is closely linked with the class and the mass and through which, under the party's guidance, the class dictatorship is accomplished" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 31).

Paying tremendous attention to the development of problems of administration and to the activities of the party and state apparatus, Lenin proceeded above all from the practical expediency of one or another change. He called for the thorough practical investigation of its effectiveness and, at the same time, took into consideration development possibilities and final objectives. He had the exceptional ability to notice anything new and progressive. He boldly reviewed the obsolete administrative structure which he corrected, made more specific, supplemented, and made consistent with specific practical conditions. In February 1921 Lenin drew up a plan for the creation of a State Planning Commission, determined the tasks of the Gosplan, and directed all its activities.

We know the truly gigantic work which Lenin did in drafting decrees and other materials. Burdened by tremendous party and state work, the Sovnarkom chairman nevertheless wrote, edited and corrected a tremendous number of documents. Manuscripts of 47 draft Sovnarkom decrees have been preserved, written by him personally from November 1917 to March 1918. Within that period he wrote, signed, or approved over 300 different governmental acts.

V. I. Lenin frequently pointed out that a carelessly drafted decision and insufficiently substantiated or inaccurate provisions could disorganize the work. He called for "paying close attention to the need for more careful, thorough, and planned drafting of decree texts" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 53, p 143).

In the period of establishment of the Soviet party and state apparatus one of the first questions to be raised was that of the principles and forms governing relations and interaction between the Communist Party and the Soviet organs. Its answer was clearly formulated in the decree passed at the eighth congress of the RKP(b), held under Lenin's guidance: "In no case should the functions of party collectives become mixed with the functions of state organs such as the soviets" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 77). The stipulation of the strict demarcation of functions was the only proper one as confirmed by the entire historical practice of our party and Soviet state.

Despite all differences and characteristics of the ways and means of work of the party and state apparatus the Leninist work style united, cemented, and strengthened their creative interconnections. A brief description of the most important among the requirements of this style would be as follows. First, unity between theory and practice, scientific approach, profound study of objective processes and phenomena in social life, and selection of the most effective means for the building of socialism and communism. Then, let us emphasize an important requirement of the Leninist style such as the combination of revolutionary scope with communist efficiency, operativeness, and specific leadership. The Leninist work style is inconceivable without close ties with the masses, strict observance of the principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility for assignments, and display of initiative and a feeling for the new.

Following these requirements and raised with the living examples of Leninist practice, the personnel of the party and state apparatus are successfully fulfilling their obligations. They are firmly implementing CPSU policy, loyally supporting it, and being reliable promoters of CPSU plans.

A creative search for the most efficient forms of organization of the party apparatus took place in the life of Soviet society, enabling the party committees effectively to carry out their political leadership functions in the process of the growth of the leading role of the Communist Party. This resulted in the current stable, organizationally strong, and small apparatus of party organs, central and local, through which the party guides the many-sided and all-embracing work on the building of communism.

The decisions of the October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum were of major principled importance to the improvement of the party apparatus and its activities. The plenum condemned the errors which were allowed to occur in guiding the development of the economy, and the unjustified restructuring of party, soviet, and economic organs. It took energetic measures to restore the Leninist norms of party life and principles of management and to strengthen the links between the party and the broad toiling masses. The plenum had a tremendous positive impact on all aspects of party and state life and activities. It was a vivid confirmation of CPSU unity, political maturity, and ability to eliminate boldly and decisively anything hindering progress.

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The constant tireless party efforts to improve the state apparatus are related, above all, to energizing the activities of the soviets at all levels, to upgrading the role of the organs of the people's authority, expanding their rights, and strengthening their material-financial base. With every passing year the soviets and their organs are influencing ever-more actively the various realms of social life, the development of the economy and culture, the upsurge of the people's prosperity, improvements in social and consumer population services, strengthening of socialist law, and the preservation of public order.

The measures taken in recent years to improve the management of the national economy have had a major influence on the activities of the administrative apparatus: its organizational structure is improving and becoming simpler; problems of bringing maximally closer management to production are being resolved daringly; cost accounting relations are broadening; stricter requirements are formulated concerning the economic substantiation of decisions; factual prerequisites are being created for the more extensive use of modern organizational equipment, communications facilities, and automated control systems; administrative work standards are rising.

Presently, during the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution, particular attention is being paid to problems of further improvements of the administrative apparatus. For the first time in constitutional practices the draft of the new fundamental law provides such a profound and comprehensive treatment of problems related to the effectiveness of the work of state organs and the economic management apparatus. This has a profound meaning, for the expanded rights and possibilities for the Soviet people to participate in the administration of the state are inseparably linked with the efficiency, good management, operativeness, and competence of the personnel of the administrative apparatus which must be the link between the authorities and the broad popular masses.

The draft of the constitution pays great attention to the foundation of the political system of the USSR--the soviets. In particular, it indicates that the USSR Supreme Soviet has the right to resolve all problems within the jurisdiction of the USSR. The local soviets not only resolve all problems of local significance but, within the limits of their rights, control and coordinate the activities of all organizations on their territory. Particular emphasis is put on the systematic nature of the control exercised by the soviets over executive and management organs and over the activities of organizations and officials.

At the 17 June 1977 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said the following on this matter: "The Communist Party has always proceeded from the fact that any one of our soviets is a particle of the supreme power and that not only does it have the right to resolve all problems within its competence but to act as the promoter of all-governmental decisions. This, Comrades, is an exceptionally important principle. Such a unity between high and local organs, and reliance by the supreme authority on local initiative reflect the essence of the soviets--their unbreakable links with the people's masses."

Characterizing the system and procedure for the organization of USSR state organs and their competence and interrelationships, the draft of the constitution proceeds from the fact that inherent in the development of the Soviet governmental mechanism are continuity and stability and that this mechanism and our entire administrative apparatus have proved their viability and effectiveness. It also emphasizes that the developed socialist society requires the further improvement of all state organs. The draft codifies an important principle of the socialist economy such as combining planned centralized management with the economic initiative of enterprise and association collectives. The new constitution will enable millions of Soviet people to become even more active in the management of the socialized economy and in controlling the work of the state apparatus. This, precisely, is the embodiment of the Leninist idea of true democracy in our country.

## II

The further upsurge of the activities and the increased prestige of the party and state apparatus are related to the decisions of the 23d, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, the Central Committee plenums, and the instructions and recommendations contained in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's addresses. The party documents of that period contain a number of basic theoretical stipulations and practical formulations on the work of the apparatus, creatively developing Lenin's ideas on the style of party and governmental work and on the scientific approach to it, taking into consideration the growing role of the party under the conditions of developed socialism.

The 25th party congress formulated a broad program for activities in this direction. In the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that today it is a question of making the entire state administration system and economic mechanism consistent with the new tasks facing the country, raising it to a qualitatively new level and upgrading its effectiveness.

The daily practical activities of the highest party organs in the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 10th Five-Year Plan are an example of systematic observance of Leninist norms and requirements and of enrichment of the party's work style. Their exceptional state of organization, operativeness, and rhythmical work contribute to the strictly planned and systematic solution of all important problems affecting the country's economic and political life.

Three CPSU Central Committee plenums were held after the congress. The October 1976 plenum, its materials, and, above all, the speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev which formulated the main party tasks on the implementation of the congress stipulations became the basis of all party, soviet and economic organs. The plenum documents play an important mobilizing and organizing role. They provided a new impetus to the work of the party organizations and of all working people.

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The party members and all citizens of our country welcomed as an event of tremendous political importance the decisions of the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The report which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev submitted to the plenum on the draft of the USSR Constitution is an outstanding theoretical and political document whose basic stipulations, summations, and conclusions are of a program nature and constitute a stage-marking event in the development of Marxism-Leninism under contemporary conditions. The documents of the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum are of tremendous theoretical and practical significance to the solution of problems of communist construction at the contemporary stage. They offer specific and convincing proof of the way the Leninist ideas on the constitution, democracy, the development of our state, and the creation of a communist society are being implemented.

Undertaking the implementation of the ideas formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress immediately after its proceedings, the party's Central Committee, its politburo, and secretariat, following the Leninist principles and traditions, earmarked specific measures and formulated in a number of Central Committee decrees passed at that time, covering a broad range of political, economic, and organizational problems, the ways and means for the implementation of the congress decisions.

The Central Committee and its politburo are not only formulating and securing the pursuit of a unified political course but, through specific directives, taking into consideration the specific nature of one or another area of state administration, or of one or another economic sector, guide the party and soviet organs and their apparatus in the implementation of the plans.

The basic stipulations and practical recommendations formulated by L. I. Brezhnev in 1974 and 1976 at all-union conferences of party workers are of invaluable importance to the further improvement of the work of the party and state apparatus. The very fact that the CPSU Central Committee general secretary participated in these conferences convincingly proves the importance and actuality of problems related to the activities of the apparatus.

In particular, at the May 1976 conference L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the party organs must always search for and find new work methods which would secure the greatest returns. They must improve their style and display greater initiative. They must have an attentive attitude toward anything progressive and disseminate positive experience. Noting the importance of thoroughly preparing party committee decrees, L. I. Brezhnev directed the attention to the need for preliminary profound study and elaboration of problems on which draft decisions are being prepared. Before submitting a draft project for consideration by the party committee the problem must be studied carefully. The political expediency and economic substantiation of presented suggestions must be proved; several alternate decisions must be submitted on any given matter so that the optimal one may be selected.

The Central Committee general secretary pointed out the need to reduce the paper flood in the party organs and the fact that many documents and current materials could be considered and resolved by the respective ministries, departments, and central establishments. In such cases the party committees would not be drawn away from important political, ideological, and economic problems which really require time and efforts.

The party organizations welcomed the instructions of the general secretary with deep satisfaction and adopted them as a practical manual for action. The central committees of communist parties, and the party kraykoms and obkoms discussed them at conferences of first gorkom and raykom secretaries, at party meetings, and at seminars and conferences for party workers. Problems of improving the work of the administrative apparatus and of strengthening the party and state discipline in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the concepts expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev were comprehensively discussed at meetings of leading workers of republic ministries and departments, and of kray and oblast administrations and organizations. These measures are directed toward further improvements in the style and method of activities of the apparatus at all party levels and all state organs; they are aimed at upgrading the responsibility of cadres for assignments. Practical experience is indicating that they are yielding fruitful results.

The party committees and their apparatus are combining ever-more effectively organizational-party and party political work with the resolution of specific economic-political and social problems. Approaching economic problems scientifically and knowledgeably, they mobilize the party members and the working people for a further upsurge of all public production sectors and for upgrading the effectiveness of output.

In the broad range of activities of the party and state apparatus there is no sector unrelated to the formulation, passage, and execution of decisions. Improving the administrative apparatus and concretizing the ways and means of its influence on the solution of economic and social problems are inseparably related to improving work with documents. Our time is characterized by a tremendous volume of information and an equal need for its profound systematic study and for the scientific substantiation of conclusions and practical recommendations. An efficient scientific system for handling documents is needed in order not to become the prisoner of paperwork. A number of local party organizations have gained certain positive experience in this respect.

The Leningrad Oblast party committee is adamantly applying a uniform approach to work with documents, from the obkom apparatus down to the primary party organization. For example, the work of the obkom apparatus is regulated by specific requirements, norms, and rules governing the interaction among all its subdivisions. These stipulations have been thoroughly planned and weighed. They cover all basic processes of handling documents, leaving no place for uncertainty, and clearly indicating the duties of the personnel.

The observance of regulation norms and requirements is controlled strictly. The course of implementation of decrees and obkom secretary instructions is reviewed monthly. Information on the condition of this work, based on quarterly results, is reported to the first secretary of the CPSU obkom. Annual work results are considered by the secretariat at conferences and party meetings of obkom personnel. This is yielding positive results. Today practically all documents handled by the obkom apparatus are processed within the stipulated deadlines.

It is important to emphasize the fact that the majority of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms in Leningrad Oblast insure the prompt execution of and high quality work with documents; in recent years the percentage of documents executed in violation of deadlines by gorkoms and raykoms has declined 300 percent.

Improvements in the work of the party apparatus are most directly linked with the organization of control of execution of decisions and executive discipline. Lenin emphasized that in the party's leading and guiding activities the making of a correct decision is merely the beginning. The main thing is to organize its implementation and insure effective control.

"...The center of gravity must be shifted...to the investigation of the factual execution," said Vladimir Il'ich at the 11th party congress ("Poln. Sbr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 116). He called for giving priority to factual control over the effective implementation of the decrees by the central authorities and the local establishments.

The party has always focused its attention on intensifying the control functions of the party and governmental apparatus. At the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that "It is clear to everyone that decisions made must be implemented, for the party's decisions represent the collective will, the concentrated experience of the masses. It sometimes happens, however, that by virtue of poor control some decisions are either not implemented or are implemented inaccurately and partially...Control over the implementation of decisions is the most important part of organizational work. It is the work of every party, soviet, and economic manager, and of each party organ and primary party organization."

Under contemporary conditions, when the functions of the party and state apparatus are expanded mainly as a result of the increased volume of administrative work the very concept of control assumes a different nature: giving practical assistance, organizing execution on the spot, and summing up and applying progressive experience and effective work methods. In other words it is linked with direct organizational work related to the implementation of one or another directive. At the same time control stipulates high executive discipline and the personal responsibility of the worker for his assigned sector.

The party committees have acquired great experience in control of execution. The course of implementation of most important party and government decisions and of party committee decrees are regularly considered at party committee

plenums; reports are systematically submitted by heads of party, soviet, and economic organs, and so on, at bureau and secretariat sessions as a means of control. The control work of party gorkoms and raykoms is improving. In the primary party organizations it is acquiring ever-more specific forms.

Concreteness and purposefulness, planning, systematic control of execution, and high responsibility for the implementation of all decisions are characteristic of many primary party organizations. At the end of last year the bureau of the Chelyabinskaya Oblast party committee considered the item "On the Work of the Party Organization of the Chelyabinsk Electrolytic Zinc Plant imeni Kirov in Processing Documents in the Light of the Requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress" and approved its activities.

Here particular attention is paid to party committee decrees. A uniform system of controlling the execution of such decrees and of party committee decisions was elaborated and approved at a party committee session. As a rule, the party committee formulates measures based on documents issued by the superior organs. If necessary a joint plan for measures is drafted by the party committee, the trade union plant committee, the Komsomol committee, and the plant's economic management. It mandatorily stipulates deadlines and those responsible for the execution of each item; control over the course of the implementation of measures is assigned to the party committee secretary or his deputy. Control over documents is interrupted only after the implementation of the measures and following the discussion of the results of this work at a party committee meeting.

The party committee controls the implementation of decisions made at all-plant party meetings. At regular party meetings it informs the party members on the course of their implementation. Such an approach taken by the party committee to work with documents enables it to structure the work of the entire party organization specifically and purposefully and helps to upgrade the significance and effectiveness of a party decision and of the personal responsibility and executive discipline of every party member.

The Leninist requirement of clearly demarcating between the functions of the party and state leadership and economic management has been codified in our party's bylaws. As a rule, unnecessary complications develop as a result of mixing functions and the assumption of the work of the state and economic apparatus by party organizations.

The party organs guide the activities of state organizations and economic organs not by interfering in their operative functions but by focusing their main efforts on work with cadres, upgrading their strictness toward them, organizing control of execution, and developing the activeness of party members and all working people. Whenever a party committee assumes the functions of any economic organ one way or another it deprives itself of the possibility to fulfill its organizational and political role to the fullest extent.

In this connection let us consider the following: the party committees receive a considerable number of documents and petitions from organizations, departments, enterprises, and establishments. In many cases their purposefulness is unquestionable. They raise topical problems and contain valuable information. However, the submission of many documents to party committees is frequently related to the desire of individual managers to shift the solution of current economic problems to party organs, to "give them a signal" and thus somehow relieve themselves from responsibility for assignments and for possible future failures. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has repeatedly drawn attention to this at CPSU Central Committee plenums and conferences with party workers.

The measures taken by party, soviet, and economic organs to improve their work style and reduce the flood of such papers yield tangible positive results if they are not occasional but have a planned, systematic, and, above all, purposeful nature as is the case, for example, of the Gor'kovskaya Oblast party committee. Here the systematic thorough study of incoming correspondence has been organized. On the basis of this study the obkom departments offer a basic assessment of the expediency of submitting such matters precisely to the oblast CPSU committee and take measures to eliminate the reasons which cause such appeals to the party organs without strict necessity. For example, at one point the obkom received many letters, petitions, and telegrams on construction matters. The obkom departments made a thorough study of the condition of control over the execution of party decisions at the Glavvolgovyatskstroy administration. The results were considered by the obkom bureau. The adopted measures enabled the managers of construction organizations to upgrade the independence, initiative, and responsibility of the administration's apparatus. The managers began to resolve more problems locally and with the help of superior organizations and departments. The effectiveness and promptness of the solution of urgent problems rose. Unnecessary correspondence was reduced. In 1976 the party obkom received eight times less letters and petitions from construction organizations compared with 1975.

In his speech to the 16th trade unions congress, emphasizing the need for further improvements of administrative work, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "...The party's course of effectiveness and quality is directly related also to the style of all of our social as well as trade union work...Let us consider whether we are not meeting too frequently and lengthily. Are we not spending too much time in multiplying various papers such as orders, decisions, and decrees, occasionally forgetting to investigate what are the precise changes which such papers make in life itself?"

This statement contains a most important criterion of activities of any ministry or department, or any of their subdivisions: the need to make an assessment based on factual results.

Recently, having considered a note submitted by the Central Committee General Department, the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat passed the decree "On Measures to Intensify Control Over the Deadlines for the Implementation of

Decrees and Instructions Issued by the CPSU Central Committee." The document emphasizes that responsibility for the effective and prompt implementation of decrees and instructions issued by the CPSU Central Committee and for the effectiveness of control is given to the Central Committee departments and the heads of ministries, departments, and organizations. It was stipulated that the delayed execution of documents and the reasons for their nonexecution must be reported by the respective organs to the Central Committee Secretariat.

Strengthening the unity between words and actions, upgrading the work level of the state and economic apparatus, and improving its style and methods is the permanent concern of the party organs. Principled party exactingness has always had a beneficial influence on cadre work. Let us cite an example.

Last April the bureau of the Orenburgskaya Oblast party committee considered the item "On Measures for the Implementation of the Instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, on Improving Further the Style and Methods of Work of Party, Soviet, and Economic Organizations." Many cases of substituting live work with all types of meetings were cited. For example, on 31 March 1977 (the final day of the quarter) the general director of the Orenburg silk association was summoned by the city executive committee to discuss a matter of highway construction at 4 pm; he was scheduled to attend a meeting of the housing construction staff at 4:30 pm, and to attend a people's control committee session at 5 pm. A study indicated that the management personnel of the association spend about 30 percent of their working time in attending various meetings. Yet, the work of the association suffers from shortcomings which occasionally result in the nonfulfillment of the state plan.

We believe that the decree of the CPSU obkom bureau will have a positive influence on the work style of the oblast's party, soviet, and economic organs.

Under the conditions of centralized sectorial management of industry and construction, and in view of the limited possibilities enjoyed by the local soviet and economic organs to influence activities of enterprises under the jurisdiction of union ministries, the obkoms, kraykoms, and central committees of communist parties of union republics coordinate and resolve a certain number of problems directly with the central organs. They frequently submit to the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab or to union ministries long-term problems and submit suggestions reflecting long-term trends in the economic and social development of the region. This situation is entirely legitimate. However, it is a different matter when the party apparatus must constantly deal with unfamiliar operative matters affecting enterprises, construction projects, problems of production technology, and problems of material and technical supplies. This can only benefit unprincipled economic managers who try to hide behind the "broad back" of the party committee. With the present scale of the national economy production problems are becoming ever-more complex and it is insufficient for an economic manager, whatever his level, to be merely a good executive. Developing in the managers creative initiative and

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the need always to look ahead, to have broad views, and adamantly to search and find ways and means for upgrading production effectiveness constitute one of the primary tasks of the party committees and their apparatus.

The contemporary manager must display socialist initiative, the desire to engage in active efforts, and the ability adamantly to resolve ripe problems rather than rely on petty supervision. This is particularly important today, when general plans for sectorial management have been elaborated and are successfully applied, stipulating the existence of a two- and three-step structure. Over 3,000 production and scientific-production associations have been already created and are in operation. This calls for considerable changes in the traditional working methods of ministries, departments, and sectorial administrations. In this connection comprehensive measures are being implemented to improve the style and methods of their activities in terms of strengthening state discipline, intensifying control over the work of associations and sections, and upgrading the individual responsibility of cadres for the implementation of state plans, party and government decrees, and their own decisions. Such problems are in the center of attention of collegiums and party committees.

The control inspectorates of a number of ministries and departments have acquired considerable experience in control of execution. For example, the control inspectorate of the USSR Gosplan firmly exercises systematic and effective control over deadlines and quality of execution of documents containing instructions issued by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. Twice monthly the inspectorate informs the chairman of the USSR Gosplan and his deputies on the course of the implementation of instructions; it submits a monthly list of documents containing instructions issued by directive organs whose implementation deadlines will run out in the next 15 days. The inspectorate operates in close contact with people's control groups and posts. The latter report the results of various investigations at sessions of collegiums and of party and trade union committees, and at conferences held by USSR Gosplan departments.

For many years an automated control system has been successfully operating at the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems. In particular, it is being successfully used for control purposes. With its help the executives are reminded on time of approaching deadlines for the implementation of assignments; control units are informed on the course of the implementation of assignments while the management receives summed-up analytical data on the condition of executive discipline in subordinate subunits.

Yet, there are still many cases in which ministries, departments, and organizations are slow in resolving problems of improving and lowering the cost of the apparatus and applying progressive ways and means of work. Success in this case largely depends on the level of activities of party committees of ministries and departments. It is their duty adamantly to strive to improve the style of work of all apparatus units, raise the party members and all workers in a spirit of high responsibility for assignments, make fuller use of their control right based on the CPSU bylaws, and firmly

react to all cases of violations of state discipline, negligence, and thoughtless decisions. The personnel of the ministry and department apparatus must fight for everything that is new and progressive, displaying farsightedness and making accurate assessments, insuring a uniform technical policy and the effective utilization of state resources for the implementation of national economic plans.

### III

The CPSU has always considered unbreakable ties with the people and the ability to inspire and organize the masses to fight for the building of communism the main source of its strength and prerequisite for all its victories. The effective influence of the party and state apparatus is based on close ties with the toiling masses.

V. I. Lenin said that "We have a 'wonderful means' to increase immediately tenfold our state apparatus, a means which no single capitalist state has ever had or could have. This wonderful means is the involvement of the working people, of the poor in the daily work of administering the state" ("Poln. Sobr.", Vol 34, p 313). Loyal to Lenin's legacy, the Communist Party has lead millions and millions of rank and file workers to the administration of all social affairs. Every day the working people in our country most directly participate in this important, responsible, and honorable work. Over 2 million leading people in our country--soviet deputies--are the bearers of the power of the state. Nearly 30 million people are the aktivs of the soviets, voluntarily assisting in the solution of state management problems; 9 million working people are members of the people's control organs. All these are vivid manifestations of true socialist democracy.

The letters and statements of the working people addressed to the party through its organs are another manifestation of the unbreakable ties linking the CPSU with the broad masses. Today there is no event in the life of the party and the people not reflected in the letters and telegrams addressed to the CPSU Central Committee.

The high political conscientiousness of the Soviet people and the life-bringing force of socialist democracy were manifested particularly strongly during the preparations for and proceedings of the 25th CPSU Congress. During that period the congress and the Central Committee received over 600,000 letters and telegrams. The congress received as many as 25,000 letters a day.

In the days of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution an endless flood of letters reach the CPSU Central Committee and the local party organs. In them the working people express their unanimous approval of the draft of the fundamental law, describe it as a document of tremendous theoretical and political significance possessing a powerful vital potential, and express their warm gratitude to the Central Committee, its politburo, and, personally, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev for their tremendous concern for the good of the Soviet people.

The reading of these letters proves that they reveal the heart of the Soviet person, his loyalty to the cause of communism, and his sincere and trusting attitude toward the party and the Leninist Central Committee. The authors share concerns and satisfactions and, sometimes, grievances and submit specific suggestions on how to improve our work. Every time that we consider these human documents we become imbued with pride in the Soviet person who has reached a deep understanding of governmental and all-party tasks.

V. I. Lenin considered the letters of working people an important channel for extensive ties with the masses and as one of the methods for the effective popular control over the course of the building of socialism and of helping the party and state organs administer the country. Letters and verbal addresses helped Vladimir Il'ich to gain a reliable knowledge of the moods of the masses, the needs and expectations of simple people, and the attitude of the people toward the measures adopted by the Soviet system.

The Leninist principles, style, content, and form of work with the letters and statements of the working people guide the party and state apparatus. At its 23d, 24th, and 25th congresses the CPSU paid great attention to this matter. Many suggestions and wishes contained in the letters sent by the working people were used in drafting the documents for the 25th CPSU congress and were considered in the elaboration of the Basic Directions for the Development of the National Economy in 1976-1980, and in Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees. At the 25th congress L. I. Brezhnev referred to the letters with great warmth: "The letters sent by the working people are one of the important forms of ties between our party and its Central Committee and the masses. Their number is steadily rising, reflecting the growing social activeness of the Soviet people. They express support of the party's policy and views on many basic problems of party and state life."

It is no accident that one of the first all-party documents passed by the CPSU Central Committee and published in the press after the congress was the Central Committee decree "On Improving Further Work with Letters Sent by the Working People in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress."

This document is imbued with tremendous concern for the interests and needs of the citizens. It emphasizes that improvements in the ways and means of work with letters are directly linked with and dependent on operatively informing the population on the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state, explaining the tasks of economic and cultural construction, improving the population's legal training, and upgrading the work standard of the administrative apparatus.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, is always interested in the state of work with letters received by the Central Committee apparatus. He regularly asks for information on this problem. He has personally read many letters and given practical advice to party workers on how to improve this sector of the work. In one of his addresses to party

workers L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that work with letters does not mean simply reading and filing them or distributing them among corresponding ministries and departments. This work presumes the profound study of questions raised by the working people, and the summation and preparation of conclusions for the benefit of leading organs.

In 1976 over 40 surveys, notes, and references were drafted and submitted to the Central Committee Politburo on the basis of a study of letters received by the CPSU Central Committee. A number of corresponding CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees were passed related to many such letters.

The tens of thousands of telegrams, greetings, and letters sent by the working people on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and in connection with his election to the high position of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium were a vivid manifestation of unity between party and people.

The nature of the letters has considerably changed in recent years. Currently most of them are letters-reports on the fulfillment of obligations and the expression of specific wishes on one or another matter. Characteristically, many suggestions are now made by labor collectives, leading workers, production innovators, and scientific workers. In the post-congress period the letters sent by the working people rated highly the measures aimed at upgrading the level of party guidance of the economy and culture and at improving organizational and political work in labor collectives. The authors raise questions on upgrading social production effectiveness and work quality. Taking into consideration the numerous problems, wishes, and suggestions contained in the letters, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Academy of Sciences are drafting suggestions on the basic principles governing the state quality control system.

The CPSU Central Committee has received letters on shortcomings in the supply of the population with industrial goods, and the need to improve the quality and expand the variety of goods produced by light industry. Taking this into consideration, the USSR Gosplan together with the USSR Ministry of Trade and other interested ministries and departments, formulated and submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers suggestions on the development of the production of mass consumer goods and on measures to upgrade their quality between 1976 and 1980.

Frequently the population's letters are an effective means for control over the implementation of party and government decisions. Here is a specific example. In a collective letter the workers of the Rossiya chemical combine, Rostovskaya Oblast, reported the unsatisfactory implementation of the USSR Council of Ministers decree on environmental protection. The facts expressed in the letter were basically confirmed by the USSR Committee for People's Control. Measures were taken. The respective ministries reported on speeding up the construction of treatment installations at subordinate enterprises.

Following the example of the CPSU Central Committee the local party and soviet organs pay great attention to letters sent by the working people. Last year problems related to work with letters were discussed at 9 plenums and 273 sessions held by secretariats of obkoms, kraykoms, and central committees of communist parties of union republics. The use of suggestions and critical remarks contained in the letters was increased. For example, the working people in a number of settlements in the Bashkir ASSR complained of the low level of medical services. The republic's council of ministers investigated the work of public health institutions in 24 cities and rayons. On the basis of the resulting data the council of ministers passed the decree "On Serious Shortcomings in Population Medical Services in the Bashkir ASSR." The adopted measures made it possible to raise the level of work of public health institutions in the republic.

Such examples prove the growing influence of the written and oral appeals of the working people to party and state organs for the solution of specific problems of economic, social, and cultural construction, and for further improvements in the work of the administrative apparatus. This is one of the forms for the active participation of the working people in the administration of the state. Nevertheless, the CPSU Central Committee and the local party and soviet organs continue to receive letters and complaints on many urgent matters. For example, the Central Committee receives a considerable number of requests dealing with housing matters. True, today they are somewhat different from what they were several years ago. Many petitioners, for example, raise the question not simply of acquiring housing but of improving their housing conditions and acquiring their own comfortable premises with an improved layout and high quality of construction and finishing work.

In some cases, before writing to the superior organ, including the CPSU Central Committee, petitioners have repeatedly and in vain submitted substantiated petitions to local authorities and it was only after interference by the center that such petitions have been satisfied by the local organizations themselves. Such cases are an alarming and very undesirable phenomenon. Unquestionably, no one is forbidden to turn to a superior organ at any time and on any matter. However, had the local authorities considered the statement promptly and attentively and displayed the necessary persistence, the problem could be resolved without unnecessary waste of time and effort. It is precisely such an attitude toward the letters and statements by the working people that represents one of the basic requirements concerning the work of the party and soviet apparatus.

The constant and tireless attention to letters written by party and nonparty members and to the suggestions, remarks, and requests they contain is one of the absolute prerequisites for the implementation of the democratic principles of the socialist society and for insuring the extensive participation of the citizens in the administration of the state. The higher the level of activities of all the units of the party and state apparatus becomes in this respect, the greater will be the implementation of the principles of socialist democracy and the stronger will the ties between party and people become.

Having covered a heroic path of adamant struggle and difficult victories, the Soviet people are welcoming the great 60th anniversary of the October Revolution monolithically united around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee. To us today the Great October Socialist Revolution is not only a tremendous event of the century. It is a manifestation of the daring dream and creative energy of the people and their great wisdom, spiritual beauty and optimism. The heirs of the October Revolution, headed by the communists-Leninists, created the state of mature socialism and achieved true democracy. These historical gains are now codified in the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

Implementing the Leninist principles of construction and improvement of the party and state apparatus, the Communist Party directs its best cadres into that major and responsible sector. These are people distinguished by boundless loyalty to the party's ideals, industriousness, discipline, high-level organization, strictness toward themselves and those around them, and loyalty to the outstanding Leninist principles of party and state work. It is precisely such qualities possessed by the contemporary party and state leader that decisively determine the success of the nationwide project.

The 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution is a peak from which new vistas and captivating prospects open. One and a half years have passed since the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The results of the work done prove that the successfully started five-year plan is gathering good speed. The unfinished end of the work, restless work days and unreached levels lie ahead. However, the achieved successes give us the confidence that under the leadership of the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee the Soviet people will implement everything planned and will successfully reach the desired heights.

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PUBLIC OPINION UNDER DEVELOPED SOCIALIST CONDITIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 29-40

[Article by R. Safarov, candidate of juridical sciences]

[Text] Offering every working person the factual possibility to become the conscious and active maker of history, socialism is built and improved by the will, energy, work, and talent of the working class and the broad popular masses headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties. For this reason, at all stages in the establishment and development of the new society our Communist Party and Soviet state have been tirelessly concerned with developing the initiative and the production and political activeness of the working people, and their ever-fuller involvement in the administration of social affairs.

The strength of the CPSU lies in its unbreakable ties with the masses and in its organic unity with the people. Guiding the Soviet society, it expresses through its policy basic vital needs and takes into consideration the specific interests of all classes and social groups, nations, and nationalities making up the united Soviet people. It tries to satisfy as fully as possible the hopes of the working people and to justify their social expectations, as well as to learn and to sum up the comprehensive social experience of the masses, listening to their opinion. The communists firmly remember V. I. Lenin's words: "...We can rule only when we properly express that which the people realize" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 112). Consideration of public opinion, largely developing spontaneously, under the influence of the sum total of practical circumstances, as well as its purposeful molding on the basis of communist ideology and its utilization in the interest of strengthening the socialist system and of building communism have always been an important principle governing our party's activities.

The attentive, thoughtful, and respectful attitude of the Leninist party and Soviet state toward public opinion is based on the communist ideals and humane objectives of the socialist society and on its profoundly democratic nature. Under developed socialist conditions, when society has reached a high level in its progress toward social homogeneity and when the state has become a state of the whole people while the party of the working class has become the party of the whole people, naturally and inevitably the value of public

opinion has become higher. It could be boldly described as one of the forms of participation of the broad masses in the administration of social processes. To an ever-greater extent it becomes part of social practices and of the political system of developed socialism, exerting a major influence on the functioning of all its elements.

That is precisely why in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Central Committee general secretary, noted that the study of public opinion deserves great attention. It is precisely the reason for which Article 8 of the draft of the new USSR Constitution reads as follows: "The further development of socialist democracy is the principal direction in the development of the political system of the Soviet society: the ever-broader participation of the working people in the administration of social and governmental affairs, the improvement of the state apparatus, the increased activeness of social organizations, intensification of people's control, strengthening the legal foundations of state and social life, increasing publicity, and taking permanently into consideration public opinion."

Therefore, public opinion is legally considered a necessary institution of socialist democracy. The very fact that the draft of the constitution was submitted for nationwide discussion is eloquent proof of the same.

Naturally, in order to achieve the proper study, take into consideration, and effectively use public opinion in the administration of social processes it is necessary to have a clear idea of the nature of this social phenomenon. An attempt will be made in this article to describe the basic features of the nature and mechanism of operation of public opinion under developed socialist conditions, as presently perceived by Soviet science.

## 1

Public opinion is the expression by one or another social community, class or social group above all, of a judgment and will characterized by relative popularity, intensiveness, and stability. As a specific form of manifestation of social consciousness, one way or another public opinion is determined by the outlook, ideology, and class self-awareness of the people. This applies even when we speak of the public opinion of a specific professional or demographic group, social organization, the population of a village, city, or oblast, a nation, or the people of a given country as a whole.

The judgment and the will expressed in public opinion have a class nature because their carriers are part of the system of public relations the main among which are production relations on which the class division of society is founded. G. V. Plekhanov himself wrote that public opinion has "its roots in the social environment and, in the final account, in economic relations..." (G. V. Plekhanov, "Izbrannyye Filosofskaye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Philosophical Works]. In 5 Vols. Vol II, Moscow, 1956, p 178).

At the same time, however, unquestionably public opinion has also a relative autonomy. Frequently its class nature is not manifested directly. Furthermore, it does not always reflect entirely correctly the class interests and factual needs of the social community.

Absolutizing the fact of the apparent autonomy of public opinion, as a rule the bourgeois researchers reject its class nature, claiming that it is "free" from ideological concepts and world-conceptual systems. A characteristic statement was made in this respect by British political scientists R. Dowse and J. Hughes who write that public opinion "does not stem from any philosophical concepts concerning the nature of man or historical processes whatever" (R. E. Dowse and J. A. Hughes, "Political Sociology," London, 1972, p 279). Naturally, the straight rejection of this judgment is impossible. Public opinion, of course, expresses above all directly specific-historical needs and vital interests of the people. However, its link with ideology and, consequently, with the class viewpoint is no less unquestionable. For social opinion is not a simple mathematical total of opinions and assessments of individuals but the view of the social comity as a whole. Ideology is the concentrated expression of the self-awareness of this comity reduced to a system. Whatever the realm of functioning of public opinion may be, and whatever the social phenomena it may deal with, in the final account class criteria must always be considered in its scientific study.

The prevalence of judgments and assessments is an important distinguishing feature of public opinion. Without undertaking the detailed consideration of this feature, let us note that the prevailing judgments in public opinion are those which are most consistent with the mass interests and expectations and express the political and moral values accepted by a specific social community. The intensiveness of public opinion means the extent of social attention paid to one or another matter, the gravity of the discussed problem, and the interest shown by the people in its resolution. Usually the broader the problem the greater the intensiveness. Let us recall the warm interest with which the Soviet people welcomed the stipulation of the 25th CPSU Congress of making the five-year plan one of effectiveness and quality. The working people answered the party's appeal with the patriotic initiative of "Workers' Guarantee for a Quality Five-Year Plan!" The fast dissemination of this initiative, the increased attention paid by labor collectives to problems of quality and effectiveness and the achievements of thousands of leading workers, today widely known throughout the country, proving in all economic sectors the topical, timely, and tremendous significance of the congress decisions show that public opinion warmly approves this appeal and is always keeping it in the focal point of its attention.

Not every subject leads to the formulation of a public opinion. Its basic positions and assessments are not subjected to substantial fluctuations, for they are based on the vital interests and ideological convictions. That is why stability is an important public opinion characteristic.

It would be difficult to imagine that in a socialist labor collective, operating on the solid basis of the coincidence between private and social interests and relations of cooperation and comradely mutual aid, a collective raised in a spirit of high conscientiousness and communist morality, that public opinion will suddenly defend violators of labor discipline, loafers, waste-makers, hooligans, and drunks. In precisely the same manner it would be unnatural for the entire Soviet people, to whom the building of communism and peace are inseparable, to change their view on the need for the intensification of detente and for the struggle for peaceful coexistence among countries with opposite social systems, for peace throughout the world, and for friendly relations among all nations.

We must say a few words on the different "fates" of public opinion in the socialist and the capitalist world. Essentially, divided into antagonistic classes, bourgeois society cannot have a single public opinion in terms of social content or class. The ruling class--in the contemporary capitalist world this is, above all, the monopoly bourgeoisie--naturally tries to subordinate public opinion to its objectives and interests and turn it into its political support. The governmental apparatus and a powerful system of mass information and propaganda media are actively serving in this respect "the strong of this world," being in their hands. However, the bourgeoisie is unable to subordinate to itself the opinion of progressive population strata, the working class above all, even though it is frequently able to influence in its favor the molding of the public opinion of a considerable segment of the exploited people, manipulating them skillfully. Essentially, progressive public opinion in the capitalist countries is usually opposed to the official viewpoint of the ruling circles since they express the interests and will of the ruling class even though sometimes secretly yet unequivocally.

The possibility for the public opinion of the working people to influence policy in the bourgeois countries is substantially limited by the political system itself even though in some cases it is effective. American sociologists R. Erikson and N. Luttbeg write the following on the breakdown of political power and the reasons for it: "Public control over governmental decisions also depends on the extent to which people factually participate in political life and on the equality of their possibilities for effective participation. The former condition is obvious. It is entirely understandable that the more people participate in politics the more influence they may exercise on governmental decisions. However, some people may participate more effectively than others for they have at their disposal a considerably greater percentage of the necessary resources such as money, information, possibility openly to express views, and access to decision-makers" (R. S. Erikson and N. R. Luttbeg, "American Public Opinion: Its Origins, Content, and Impact," New York, 1973, p 323). Following is the admission of American philosopher J. Best who, discussing the people's possibility to use various channels with a view to having a factual influence on politics under the conditions of Western democracy, in fact says the following: "These communication channels are effective only if they are accessible to all and if the political system reacts to the opinions which

it adopts. The disturbances and demonstrations of the end of the 1960's and in the 1970's have confirmed, however, that if people who are profoundly interested in a problem and are concerned by it are steadily refused access to this system, or should they begin to feel that the political system no longer reacts to their needs and requirements, they may try to go beyond the framework of this system to force it to hear their demands and achieve corresponding changes. The danger to the democratic political system lies not in the fact that public opinion will control the process of adoption of political decisions but of the fact that people with views lack the possibility to express them and to be heard" (J. J. Best, "Public Opinion: Micro and Macro," Homewood, 1973, p 264). On our own we shall add merely that bourgeois democracy would no longer be bourgeois democracy should it be able to control the public opinion of the entire people. Depending on the counteracting forces of the working people and all progressive people, such "democracy" reflects only more or less systematically and completely the opinion of the representative of monopoly capital.

Public opinion in the socialist society, characterized by the sociopolitical and ideological unity among all classes, social groups, and population strata, is an entirely different matter. Here public opinion never tries to exceed the limits of the political system, for the latter is the offspring of the working people, serving and defending their interests. The conflict situations always prevailing in the bourgeois countries between progressive public opinion and the policy of the state are basically impossible in the socialist society. Welded by essentially coinciding vital interests, a single objective, and common Marxist-Leninist ideology, whatever their social stratum the members of the socialist society fully approve the policy of the Communist Party, for it considers as the basic purpose of its existence precisely service to the people. Under developed socialist conditions the value of public opinion is that it participates both in the elaboration of an essentially profoundly national party policy as well as in finding the most efficient ways and means for its implementation.

The ever-fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people, the steady improvement in the prosperity and culture of the people, the development of socialist democracy, covering all realms of social life, and the implementation of the party's course toward the all-round development of the individual are the fulfillment of the most profound expectations of the working people. The Soviet person is the full master of his fate and his country. The draft of the new fundamental law of the Soviet state codifies this with extreme clarity: "The citizens of the USSR enjoy full socioeconomic, political, and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the USSR Constitution and the Soviet laws. The socialist system guarantees the broadening of rights and freedoms and the continuing improvement of the citizens' living conditions with the fulfillment of the programs for socioeconomic and cultural development."

The need for constantly determining, considering, and using public opinion in the course of resolving the most important problems of state life has been raised to a constitutional principle. However, under the conditions of

developed socialism as well conflicts may arise between public opinion, on the one hand, and certain juridical norms and administrative decisions, on the other. The rights granted the social organizations, including that to initiate legislation, codified in the draft of the constitution, contribute to the prevention and elimination of such a possibility and to achieving greater agreement between them. Article 49 of the draft will be a major factor in upgrading the role of public (and personal!) opinion. It reads as follows: "Every citizen of the USSR has the right to submit to the governmental organs and public organizations suggestions related to improving their activities and criticize shortcomings in their work. Within the time stipulated by the law the officials must consider such citizens' suggestions and statements, answer them, and take the necessary measures. Persecution for criticism is forbidden."

Under the conditions of developed socialism public opinion is given a new powerful impulse so that it may function as an effectively operating social institution. Such a high status of public opinion would be basically impossible in any bourgeois political system however democratic its appearance might seem.

The permanent functioning of democratic institutions, as stipulated in the draft of the constitution, is one of the important prerequisites for achieving popular agreement with suggestions and plans and with the decisions of party and soviet organs. This particularly applies to Article 5 which reads: "The most important problems of state life shall be submitted to nationwide discussion and nationwide vote (referendum)." The effect of these and other institutions will enable us systematically to determine the viewpoint predominating among the masses and, on the basis of such information, amend drafts and plans as well as legislative and other legal acts. It is important to note that the leading party and soviet organs proceed from the democratic principle according to which the people's agreement must be not only announced but constantly confirmed.

Population surveys with a view to determining public opinion on basic critical problems have been practiced from the very first days of the Soviet system. When the question of concluding a peace treaty with Germany was being discussed, on Lenin's suggestion, on 25 February 1918 the Soviet government submitted to all local soviets and land committees an inquiry on their attitude toward the peace conditions as proposed by the German government. The results were the following: 262 answers were in favor of peace and 233 were in favor of continuing the war (see "Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVI" [Leninist Collection XXXVI], p 30). The figures alone indicated the tenseness of the situation: the tense feelings had far from disappeared even within party ranks. Many people simply failed to understand the entire seriousness of the circumstances and the need for a peaceful breathing period. Well aware of this, the Bolshevik Party and Soviet government nevertheless deemed it necessary to find out the view of the people before concluding the Brest peace treaty which, to a certain extent, meant the salvation of the entire revolution.

As we know, one of the important methods for determining public opinion is the letters of the working people which express their views on a number of basic problems of party and state life. The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress noted that "The most important suggestions and views are considered by the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat and taken into consideration in the formulation of laws and decrees. Many of them were used in drafting the materials for the present congress." In 1976 the CPSU Central Committee passed the decree "On Improving Further Work with Letters Sent by the Working People in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" which, among others, states the following: "Undertake the systematic and comprehensive study of letters and, on their basis, draw the necessary conclusions related to the resolution of current and long-term problems." This is the best characterization of the importance of the opinion of the people and truth of its active participation in the shaping and implementation of the party's policy.

Under the conditions of developed socialism the value of public opinion in the realm of economics becomes equally topical. The process of elaboration of economic policy by the Soviet state itself presumes the systematic determination and consideration of public opinion on a great variety of aspects of industrial and agricultural output. The report submitted to the 25th party congress on "Basic Directions in the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980," whose draft was extensively discussed by party organizations, at working people's meetings, and in the press, contains the remark by Comrade A. N. Kosygin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, that this was a truly nationwide discussion of problems related to our economic and social policies, and prospects and ways of development of the country's national economy; the working people expressed their views on a broad range of complex and vitally important problems of the building of communism, showing great interest in the success of the common project undertaken by the party and the people, based on a deep understanding of the tasks facing them. The special politburo commission set up prior to the congress considered suggestions for the draft of the CPSU Central Committee submitted to the congress by the communist parties of union republics and formulated at party conferences, or else published in the press and contained in letters sent by the citizens.

The role of public opinion in the realm of economics is so obvious that it could be considered as one of the elements in the mechanism of socialist economic management. In recent years reserves for the effective utilization of public opinion at all levels and in all units of economic activities are being established ever-more completely. This is yielding positive results.

Public opinion contains extensive possibilities for the development of socialist competition. The effectiveness of the slogan of "Let Us Work Better and Upgrade Effectiveness and Quality!" largely depends on the ability of party, trade union, and Komsomol organs and organizations to mold and use public opinion in the interest of fulfilling contractual obligations among competitors. However, we still come across cases in which, in the process of concluding and summing up the results of the labor competition,

public opinion is not determined, publicized, or considered. This triggers elements of formalism and, occasionally, lowers the prestige of the competition itself.

At the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the closest possible attention should be paid to the state of the labor discipline: "We still have too many cases of absenteeism, lateness, and idling. This is a major evil which causes the loss of millions of man/days. All party organizations, the entire public must be led to the struggle against it." The Kiev enterprises, for example, have well organized their struggle against working-time losses and for strengthening the labor discipline. The people's controllers conducted a survey among workers and employees asking them, among others, the following questions: "What was the reason for idling?" "What is hindering you in your work?" and many others. The answers determined reasons for working-time losses: delayed deliveries of raw materials, technical documentation and tools, and so on. Managers of warehouses, shift chiefs, and foremen submitted reports based on the results of the survey. This made it possible to develop proper public opinion concerning workers guilty of working-time losses or individuals violating the labor discipline. Typically, public condemnation turned out to be more effective than administrative measures. The educational effect of public opinion increases greatly when the violators of moral and legal norms submit to the collective the reasons for their behavior. This practice is used, for example, in Stavropol'skiy Kray.

The legal value of a determined, publicized, and considered public opinion is expressed in its significance in terms of the optimal solution of problems of government and administration, the functioning of the democratic and legislative systems, and the strengthening of law and order. The developing practice of appealing to public opinion for advice and support confirms the ever-greater dissemination and assertion of this important and useful democratic element in the legal socialist culture. Let us note the existence of three basic forms of manifestation of the legal effectiveness of public opinion each of which is used not sporadically but systematically as the basis for a stable link between public opinion and legislative acts, on the one hand, and achieving the agreement of the people with such acts, on the other.

To begin with, when legislative acts are initiated by governmental organs, the drafts of the most important among them are submitted to extensive preliminary discussions. Thus, in recent years the working people have taken part in discussing the drafts of the Foundations of Land, Water, Civil, and Penal Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics, the Foundations of Legislation on Labor, Marriage, and Family, on Public Health, on Public Education, and many others. About 2,000 remarks and suggestions were made in the course of the discussion of the draft of Foundations of Civil Legislation and Foundations of Civil Judicial Procedures; some 3,000 were submitted in the discussion of the Foundations of Legislation on Public Education; about 3,000 on Foundations of Land Legislation; and over 7,000

on the Foundations of Legislation on Marriage and Family; over 12,000 suggestions were submitted on the Law on State Pensions. Improvements were made in these documents on the basis of such suggestions.

Secondly, public opinion itself assumes the initiative on matters of the adoption of new, amending existing, and deleting obsolete laws. In this case it would be difficult to even enumerate some of them, for the range of the public initiatives is quite wide. It has extended to nearly all sectors of Soviet law and, above all, labor, housing, family, kolkhoz, land, penal, administrative, and economic law. The basic objectives of the public initiatives may be reduced to the further democratization of legal realtions, the even greater strengthening of legality, and the increased responsibility of citizens and officials in the eyes of the law.

Thirdly, the close combination of the preservation of legal values by the state organs and their defense by public opinion is becoming ever stronger. We know that public discipline and law and order are preserved, above all, by the state organs. However, they are also in the center of attention of the public. On this level the effectiveness of public opinion largely depends on the level of the political and legal awareness of the citizens. That is why the party has issued the task of upgrading the political culture of the working people and the dissemination of legal knowledge.

The moral stability of our society is strengthening under the guidance of the Communist Party. In turn, this is reflected on the moral value of public opinion. The realization of this fact enables us to make fuller use of its possibilities for the solution of existing or newly arising moral problems which could be created, for example, by the scientific and technical revolution. Morality itself could be influential only if it relies on the public opinion which may approve or condemn. The more fully public opinion performs its regulatory role the more firmly the norms and principles of communist morality become asserted in our society.

The cultural value of public opinion is determined by the fact that it is not only the product of political, legal, moral, and artistic culture but one of its necessary elements. The higher the culture the more effective public opinion is, and vice versa. In addition to everything else, the state of culture depends on the fullness with which public opinion is expressed. Essentially, the occasional cases of underestimating public opinion restrict the possibility for developing the cultural potential of society. The party encourages the shaping of public opinion on attitude toward the historical past, preservation of cultural values, and development of literature, painting, sculpture, and architecture.

In this connection the molding of public opinion on the scientific Marxist-Leninist basis becomes particularly important. It is precisely thus that the correctness of a choice of social position could be insured. This is of most important ideological significance.

Socialism creates favorable political, economic, psychological, moral, juridical, and cultural conditions for the functioning of public opinion. Such conditions are being steadily improved. Their system consists of a number of interrelated elements. Briefly, what is the content of one of them?

Let us cite, above all, the political and state-legal information of the population on problems of particular interest. The Soviet people are always being informed on the decisions and action of governmental organs at all levels. Every day our mass information media inform the readers, television viewers, and radio listeners on all most important events occurring domestically and abroad, offering a clear idea on the course of the implementation of plans, the labor rhythm of the five-year plan, and the foreign political actions undertaken by the Soviet government. The content of the most important party and state documents is submitted to virtually every citizen by a huge army of political informants, lecturers, and propagandists and is extensively studied within the party and Komsomol training system. Soviet deputies at all levels have the duty periodically to report to the electorate. This measure as well as the full publicity of their activities have been codified in the most important party documents and in the draft of the USSR Constitution.

The practice of submitting reports to labor collectives and at rayon, city, and oblast aktiv meetings and rallies of leading production workers by party and economic leaders has become firmly embedded. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said the following at the 25th CPSU Congress: "The party has no secrets from the people. It is deeply interested in enabling all Soviet people to be familiar with its accomplishments and plans and have an opinion on them." On this matter, as in all others, the party firmly follows Lenin's line. On the second day following the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin solemnly proclaimed that "We want the government to be always controlled by the public opinion of its country" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 35, p 19).

The importance of the free expression of opinions and assessments by all citizens and public organizations is self-evident in terms of the normal functioning of public opinion on the level of villages, rayons, oblasts, and republics, and the state at large. This is accomplished at meetings of working people, in the course of talks with officials, in letters addressed to party and soviet organs, and through the mass information media. The citizens discuss and, if necessary, criticize the legal acts passed by governmental organs and the work of officials regardless of their position. Furthermore, a clash of opinions may take place on one or another matter. No other way is possible, for the people submit various alternative solutions to any given problem, whether ecological, demographic, economic, or legal. This is confirmed by the debate in the central press on various aspects of environmental protection, migration processes, streamlining economic legislation, struggle against legal violations, and so on.

The party and soviet organs are expanding and improving the conditions necessary for the exercise of this civic right as stipulated and guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. It is on this basis that public opinion arises, develops, and shapes up. "Every day newspaper editors receive and carefully consider many thousands of letters sent by the working people on a great variety of problems. All this enables the Soviet press to be a powerful spokesman for public opinion," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has noted.

Regularly taken surveys of citizens by party, state, and public organs, mass information media, scientific research institutes, and sociological centers, constituting the mechanism for determining public opinion, are the next prerequisite for the normal functioning of public opinion. The taking of such polls and the publication of their results enliven and energize public opinion on various problems in the center of attention of the people, on communist education and the self-education of the Soviet people, on improving the socialist way of life and on developing the constitutional awareness and the labor and sociopolitical activities of the masses. Obviously, such polls should gradually cover the entire adult population and their questions should include the most topical problems.

The question of whether to poll or not poll the population does not exist in the case of the overwhelming majority of state administration officials (managers and specialists) who, by virtue of their work, are in daily contact with the population. Thus, in order to determine the attitude of the local employees of Kalininskaya Oblast concerning public opinion they were asked the following question: "Do you consider that one of the important tasks of executive committees and their sections and administrations is their study of the population's opinion?" The answers broke down as follows (in percentages): 92.5 percent "yes;" 2.6 percent "no;" 3.6 percent "not sure;" and 1.3 percent failed to answer.

The breakdown of answers to the question of the condition of determining the opinion of the local population by the local administrative organs by the officials in such organs and the citizens was the following (in percentages): "determine"--83.5 and 59.6; "do not determine"--6.6 and 11.0; "not sure"--8.9 and 25.3; failed to answer--1.0 and 4.1 percent. It was established that determining the view of the population on surveys is associated, first of all, with their active study of the initiative of the administrative organs themselves and, secondly, with meeting the needs and interests expressed by public opinion.

It would be hardly possible to limit the study of public opinion essentially to the passive recording of data. As a result of such an approach the administrative organ would become familiar mainly with citizens' suggestions, statements, and complaints. This is obviously insufficient. The active determination of the population's opinion on the initiative of the party and soviet organs themselves and of the public organizations offers a number of advantages: it makes it possible to gather information on a broad range of problems; it is no longer characterized merely by indications of shortcomings, which is basically inherent in citizens' letters; the quality of

of the information is such as to be able to determine certain patterns in the development of public opinion and, on this basis, make forecasts.

The systematic consideration of public opinion by social institutions is one of the important conditions governing its functioning. Those polled are interested in using this public opinion, in it being considered and, in cases stipulated by the law, obeyed. Polled on the subject of the consideration of the population's opinion by the local administrative organs of Kalininskaya Oblast, the officials of these organs and the citizens gave the following respective answers (in percentages): "considered," 86.2 and 62.0; "not considered," 4.0 and 11.4; "no opinion," 7.6 and 22.3; no answer, 2.2 and 4.3 percent. A 24.2 percent disparity existed between the positive answers given by officials and citizens. How to explain it? First of all, the population can judge better the extent to which its needs are satisfied. Secondly, there are frequent cases in which, making one or another decision, the administrative organ considers that it has thus taken into consideration the population's opinion, whereas the population considers that its requirement has not as yet been fully satisfied.

Naturally, the results of such surveys should not be accepted unconditionally. In this case we must take into consideration a certain imperfection of the methods used for specific sociological studies and the psychological lack of preparedness for such polls on the part of a certain percentage of those polled. Nevertheless, the conclusion is possible that the extent to which some local administrative organs make use of public opinion remains insufficiently low. This is caused by the lack of legal regulations governing a number of problems. This gap is further increased by the absence of a scientific method for the study of public opinion.

The efficient and democratic functioning of public opinion under developed socialist conditions presumes its purposeful molding on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, for it is precisely this that determines its social content consistent with the objectives of our society. The party pays great attention to the proper guidance of the Soviet people and to the growth of their communist conscientiousness and political maturity. Lenin noted that we do not have the right to weaken in the least our efforts to convince the population masses in the correctness of our ideas (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 159). The organs molding public opinion must have proof of the fact that ideological concepts and political slogans reach their objectives. Even the least possible weakening of the principle of "feedback" inevitably affects the effectiveness with which public opinion is molded. This principle is implemented when citizens publicly condemn, assess, and make use of the information given to them by ideological institutions.

The one-sided controlled public opinion in bourgeois countries is saturated with antipeople's standards of thinking and behavior which are difficult to abandon. "Anyone knows," writes H. Grosse, the West German sociologist, "that powerful makers of public opinion exist with whom, according to the

situation, the individual may or may not agree or may or may not trust. No one could remove such opinion makers. No one could get rid of them. Everyone is afraid of the fact that public opinion will be falsified, distorted, and directed unilaterally. Everyone knows that the makers of commodities and services, the "interest groups," and parties, parliaments, and governments try to mold public opinion in the desired spirit, and to formulate and direct it. Everyone knows that in this case the means are not always carefully chosen. Everyone knows that he is the target of advertising and propaganda" (H. Grosse, "Public Opinion and Political Will," AUS POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE, No 14, Bonn, 1969, p 4). This condition reflects the stable trend inherent in contemporary bourgeois democracy.

Public opinion is subjected to influence in the socialist countries as well but in such a way as to function precisely as a democratic institution. The purpose of the mass communications media and of the party's educational work is to take man beyond the limits of daily consumer interests, to enhance and ennable his needs, and to mold in the people an awareness of personal responsibility for the condition of politics, economics, administration, morality, culture, legality, and law and order. This influences the condition of public opinion itself.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Selection and Education of Ideological Cadres by the Belorussian Party Organization" stipulates the following: "We must develop scientific research related to the study of public opinion..." The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress describes the study of public opinion, as we know, as one of the topical problems subject to creative development. Such basic party instructions open new possibilities for the organization of systematic scientific research on the basis of the long-range means of the democratic progress of Soviet society building communism.

Presently the country has two scientific subdivisions studying public opinion: the Institute of Sociological Research and the USA and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Naturally, this is insufficient. Clearly, the time has come to organize public opinion research sectors in a number of academic institutes, properly specialized. Furthermore, perhaps we should resolve the problem of setting up a public opinion institute under the academy of sciences, operating jointly with the USSR Central Statistical Administration.

The implementation of the important task of the study of public opinion, formulated at the 25th party congress, demands the development of a special trend of scientific research for the study of the general laws governing the appearance, molding, functioning, and development of public opinion and the specific nature of its carriers, spokesmen, and representatives, along with the mechanism of its establishment, manifestation, and utilization of public opinion by party, soviet, and economic organs at all levels to study the role of public opinion in the progress made by socialist democracy and in the creation of prerequisites for a transition to communist social self-administration.

## DATA PROCESSING INDUSTRY

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[Article by Academician V. Grushkov]

[Text] The new tremendous leap which our country must make in the 10th Five-Year Plan calls for the further acceleration of the pace of scientific and technical progress as a decisive prerequisite for upgrading public production effectiveness and improving the quality of output. The Communist Party directive calls for the systematic solution of the problem of organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

Electronic computer technology is one of the main tools of contemporary scientific and technical progress. By decision of the 25th CPSU Congress this five-year plan the production of computer equipment will be increased 80 percent. Major tasks have been formulated on the further use of computers in scientific research, production, and economics. One of the primary tasks facing science is the development of projects directed toward the extensive and effective utilization of computers, the saturation of our scientific institutions with modern computer technology, and the installation of automated systems of various types.

Our country has acquired considerable experience in the solution of complex scientific, design, planning-economic, and other problems with the help of computers. However, this experience was acquired essentially on the basis of second generation computers (BESM-6, M-220, Minsk-32, and others). This is no longer adequate, for, as we know, last five-year plan our industry converted to the production of an integrated system of third-generation computers whose machine language (i.e., system of basic operations it performs) is substantially different from the language of all previous machines. Also important is the fact that conversion to a uniform computer system radically changes the conditions governing the use of computer technology, including programing, data processing, organization of the computation process, the nature of the interaction between users and computers, and so on. All this is determined by the fact that from "semiexotic" scientific instruments used for the solution of particularly complex problems computers have become a facility serving a great variety of consumers in the course of assembly line production.

Worldwide experience proves that this transition was a powerful factor in the new growth of the pace of scientific and technical progress. It is not limited merely to the framework of scientific research and planning and design organizations but covers at present the automation of industrial output, economic management, and other fronts of social practical work. The scientific and technical revolution determined the need for the development of a new industrial sector--data processing.

The beginning of the organization of this sector may be traced back to previous five-year plans (mainly the ninth). It is a complex process involving great difficulties.

Let us name the principal among them.

We are continuing to experience an acute shortage of computers of a number of important types, above all high capacity ones as well as inexpensive small minicomputers and microcomputers. The solution of problems related to the standardization of the latter and of the effective specialization of ministries (radio industry, tool making, automation, and control systems, electronic industry, and others) in the development and manufacturing of minicomputers and microcomputers of different types has been delayed inadmissibly. This has led to an unjustified increase in the cost of the entire computer cycle (development-production-utilization). Problems of combining computers of different types within systems (complexes) for combined work and of achieving the potential which such machines do not possess separately are being resolved too slowly. This particularly applies to the organization of big general purpose computer systems with specialized minicomputers and microcomputers. In most cases such complexes are created by the consumers themselves. This leads to a waste of efforts and to considerably higher cost of development and delays.

Like any assembly line production, a modern computer center is a complex system consisting of a number of different units (ranging from central systems engaged in data processing and electronic memory banks to automated systems for paper cutting, special shelves for the storage of tapes, disks, punched tape, and cards, carts for their transportation, and others). As in any other type of production facility the number of such systems and their handling capacity must be strictly balanced. One bottleneck or poorly automated or mechanized sector could sharply reduce the effectiveness of the entire system. Yet, so far the ministries producing computer equipment frequently supply computers in the type of sets which make impossible the sufficiently effective utilization of their possibilities.

There is a shortage of a general system peripheral equipment (required for computer centers of all types). Also inadequate is the production of special peripheral equipment for computer centers used for the comprehensive automation of production management, the gathering and processing of mass experimental data for the automation of design operations, and so on. Yet, the creation today of computer centers unequipped with the complete set of modern

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auxiliary equipment would be the equivalent of building a plant without the necessary lifting and hauling equipment. One could imagine the large number of workers which would be required and the effectiveness of the production of rolled metal with the manual supply of semifinished parts to a modern rolling mill!

In the case of the data processing industry the situation is aggravated by the fact that its management is far more complex than that of any familiar realm of material output. This is not only a question of the complexity of data production processes but of the tremendous speed with which they proceed and change. Therefore, the entire computer center equipment remains nothing but a dead heap of metal until the complex program system (the so-called operational system) has been brought into action, as it controls all processes accomplished with this equipment, organizes data retrieval and exchange among systems, the dialog between man and the systems, and so on.

The operational system applies to the so-called internal mathematical support provided by a computer or a set of computers. Currently it includes also programing automation systems. The purpose of these systems is for specific data processing programs to be presented in a form convenient to those who use the machine and then automatically changed into a form understood by the computer but extremely inconvenient for human use. Without such specific programs and initial data for them a computer center would resemble a plant in which the entire equipment has been installed and the management organized without being given its main assignment: the type of items it should produce within a specific time (a plant lacking blueprints for the goods to be manufactured and a calendar plan for their manufacturing), and without any indication as to the time, deadlines, and amounts of material and technical supplies (starting data in the case of computer centers) the plant should receive.

The level of automation of programing (and, consequently, the simplicity of formulating programs for computer users) depends on the level of computer center specialization. Obviously, if a strictly limited range of problems is being resolved the programs should be written in advance--once and for all--and fed to the computer memory (setting up a so-called "program library"). In such a case it would suffice to indicate the name of the program required and feed the computer the necessary data.

Frequently (in automated control systems, for example) it is possible to automate partially or totally the process of the preparation of starting data itself. Entering the system from various types of sources (automatic readers, other computer centers or, finally, people) the data are automatically organized in a so-called data bank. Such a bank is given a system of symbols (names) for groups of data needed for the solution of one or another problem. In order to resolve the problem in the specialized computer center with a data bank it would be sufficient to give the operational system the name of the working program (or the sequence of such programs), the names of

the necessary bank data groups (as well as, possibly, some additional data), and to indicate the desired form in which the results are to be presented.

In the case of those directly using the computer the programing process has been almost totally eliminated, naturally thanks to the tremendous preliminary work of the programmers. The advantage of such an approach is obvious: programs once developed by highly skilled programmers (as a result of which, as a rule, they are both high quality and effective), could be repeatedly used by workers with practically no specialized training. Human interference in work of the system could be totally excluded in a number of cases such as, for example, the automation of many technological processes: entering the system, the initial data themselves switch on their processing program.

The other extreme case is a general use computer center with a broad (unprognosticated in advance) spectrum of resolved problems. However, even in this case it is possible to create and make effective use of a library of programs which are frequently used either alone or as modules in more complex programs. Such programs are combined, according to their purpose, in so-called packets. Actually, these are preliminary program parts which may be converted into working (machine) programs through the programing automation system. In the course of the work of its computer center the program library could be continuously increased with new packets which become immediately accessible to all similar computer centers. This steadily increases the capacity of the programing automation system, systematically simplifying consumer programing and contributing to both the increased number of consumers and to the range of problems resolved.

The use of preliminary program parts supplied to the computer and the centralization of the process of subsequent programing and exchange of programs are all a characteristic form of standardization of the information industry. This task is inseparably linked with the standardization of means for the presentation of data not only in the input and the retrieval but within the computer itself. Therefore, for example, a packet of programs created for one of the methods of planning and accounting documents may turn out useless in the case of other document forms. Furthermore, document forms to be used by people are frequently poorly adapted for use by a computer, unjustifiably complicating their handling. The solution of problems of standardization and, even more so, of changing document forms encounters numerous interdepartmental obstacles, particularly if we take into consideration the fact that the solution to such problems is not within the functions of ministries producing computer technology.

One of the most important prerequisites for surmounting such difficulties is the decisive rejection by ministries (producers of computer technology) of the developed trend of supplying the consumers with individual computers (with minimal mathematical support). It is necessary to convert as rapidly as possible to the development, delivery, assembly, and installation of complete sets of technical and program facilities to the consumers, representing complete automated data processing systems of different classes, particularly computer centers

for general and specialized use. Let us add to this the centralization of the services in charge of providing technical assistance, repairs, and modernization of established systems, the organization of the training of the technical personnel of the consumers with a view to the most effective utilization of the systems, and the establishment of an effective service to handle orders, registration, and distribution of programs among users.

Even though certain steps have already been taken to resolve these problems, as a whole the problem of converting to a policy of comprehensive development and supply of automated data processing systems is far from resolved. Today most consumers are developing such systems not immediately, on the basis of a complete project, with the help of a single main contracting organization, but as a result of a painful trial and error process interacting systematically with a dozen (or even several dozen) independent suppliers and contractors. Acquiring a computer with minimal complements and minimal mathematical support, usually the consumer realizes that he is unable to resolve his problems with its help. Furthermore, most frequently (particularly when the computer is of the latest design) he lacks his own cadres capable of making effective use of such equipment. This originates the lengthy and difficult process of developing the system further, equipping it with everything necessary, training cadres, and creating the missing programs. Since the obligations concerning the production and delivery of many types of equipment and programs for a data processing system have not been strictly divided among departments, enterprises, and institutes, the consumer must place his orders wherever he can and reconcile himself with the fact that his system will be left not entirely completed and, consequently, that it will not be fully effective.

Clearly, a fully operational data processing industry cannot be created through similar methods. At best, they are suitable for the organization of artisan workshops rather than contemporary assembly line production. The comprehensive development and supply of complete data processing systems (particularly whenever the responsibility for this is entrusted to a single specialized ministry) could radically improve the situation regarding the development and utilization of the latest computer facilities.

The same could be said of combining computers within integrated complexes of different grades. As to high-capacity computers, one of the reasons for their insufficient output is that under the present circumstances the ministries producing such equipment frequently convince themselves (and the planning organs) of the possibility to meet the needs of most consumers with average-capacity computers.

In this case another circumstance should be emphasized. Should they be responsible for the end result, both computer developers and producers would be forced to eliminate shortcomings in their equipment which have appeared in the work of existing systems and improve the equipment. Worldwide practice convincingly proves the extent to which such a requirement speeds up scientific and technical progress in the computer field.

The fear is occasionally expressed that the implementation of such a technical policy would be hindered by the inadequacy of the available design and production base. Naturally, should specialized scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and enterprises within the systems of the two main producers of computer equipment--the ministries of radio industry and of tool making--be entrusted with responsibility for the development and production of all systems needed for this purpose they would find it difficult to meet such assignments. However, there is nothing to prevent their planned cooperation with other ministries (which, incidentally, is already being done but, alas, only spontaneously, without the proper specialization and constant responsibility of the respective departments).

A similar situation prevails in the making of programs. We lack even the total registration of such programs, not to speak of sensible specialization and cooperation among collectives which could provide modern mathematical support for computers and their systems. Furthermore, far from all such collectives (particularly VUZ's) are supplied promptly with latest design computers, even though it is precisely they who need, above all, adequate technical support. Obviously, the time has come for the creation of regional centers for the development of mathematical support for new computers, assigning to them respective collectives from the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and sectorial ministries. The first models of such computers should be installed at such centers and supplied to consumers only after an adequate amount of mathematical support has been accumulated.

Incidentally, the big VUZ's training programmers should also have priority in receiving the latest model computers. In this case organizations and enterprises short of skilled cadres to operate the latest computer equipment could recruit them on time. Incidentally, it would be inexpedient to train programmers in small VUZ's (which lack their own powerful computer centers) should they be unable to find work for the students at the computer centers of other establishments.

Having thus organized the work of suppliers of computers and automated data processing systems, in my view, it would be far more effective than at present to create systematically, step by step, individual sectors, shops, and enterprises engaged in data processing for other departments which, in this case, would become customers. Such primary cells of the information industry may be broken down into a number of types based on the area of application. Let us consider some of them.

The "Basic Directions in the Development of the USSR National Economy in 1976-1980" call for drastically increasing the production of program controlled equipment (machine tools with digital programing, automatic manipulators, and others). The use of such equipment (together with a corresponding data processing system) would enable us to raise labor productivity in small serial and serial production four to five times.

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The data processing system we are discussing goes through several development levels. The first level is the conventional specialized computer center for the training of machine carriers (punched cards or tape) with programs on the basis of which the individual units of the program controlled equipment operate. In previous five-year plans such a computer center consisted basically of a computer of one or another type equipped with special mathematical support. Its work process was the following: using the language developed for the purpose the technologists described step by step the work to be performed by one or another equipment unit (usually machine tool). Such descriptions are transferred to punch cards or tape by the computer center personnel and fed to the computer. With the help of a special translating program the machine translates the description into a sequence of basic commands to be carried out by the machine tool. The sequence of commands (machine tool program) is transferred by the machine to a punched card or magnetic tape. The tapes are given to the shop and placed in the very simple programing systems controlling the work of the machine tool.

This still involves many manual operations. The effectiveness with which the entire system is operating is relatively low. A higher operational level is insured by equipping the technologists making the programs with special control panels directly connected to the computer. The operational system of the computer (or the computer complex) must insure the possibility for simultaneous work by all panels. This is still the bottleneck of one of the sectors which previously required a great amount of manual labor, i.e., transferring the information to the machine carriers.

Subsequently, the computer is directly linked with the equipment thus eliminating yet one more stage of manual work: taking the carriers to the shop and placing them on the proper equipment. It is particularly important to note that at this point we are resolving the problem of coordinating the work among individual equipment units. An automated sector or shop develops. Automation becomes total when the sector (shop) is equipped with a general purpose program controlled lifting-hauling equipment. This could be done by robots or programed manipulators. With the help of such equipment parts are moved from one machine tool to another (press, and so on), cutters and dies are replaced, and so on. Here the work of the technologists preparing the initial description of the program for item processing and shifting is the bottleneck of the system. Upgrading such labor productivity calls for raising the level of programing automation above all through the creation of a program bank describing standard processing methods, as well as a specialized coordination program which coordinate the operational programs of individual equipment units.

Finally, a feedback is introduced in the system controlling the work of the entire equipment and making it possible for the automated system to react promptly to various types of deviations from the program. The final result is a complex system involving a central plant computer center coordinating the activities of shops and sectors and resolving the most difficult problems in the preparation of programs, as well as shop computer centers equipped with inexpensive minicomputers which provide the immediate control over the program controlled equipment.

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The mathematical support of the system (with the exclusion of feeding the program bank with standard processing methods) could be provided on a one-time basis for systems serving any type of production facility.

An approximately similar situation prevails in the case of specialized computer centers used for different purposes. Let us take as an example computer centers used in the automation of planning-design operations. Such centers have long been in existence in many design bureaus and scientific research institutes in a basic (rather primitive) form. In this case, however, design technology hardly changed. The computer center gave designers the possibility to resolve one or another complex computation problem (through manual preparation and supply to the computer of initial data and processing programs).

An entirely new level of design automation arises whenever the designers use special work systems directly linked with computers. Drawing a sketch on a special screen, the design engineer thus immediately feeds it to the computer which automatically converts it into a drawing. Using its own sketches and drawings of standard parts and assemblies stored in the computer's memory, it "puts together" on the screen a blueprint within a short period of time (the computer coordinates the scales). Special automatic high-speed and accuracy drafting machines draw up all the necessary drawings while automatic typewriters print specifications or other data in letters or figures. All program computations covered by the so-called general engineering disciplines (theoretical mechanics, strength of materials, theoretical electrical engineering, and others) are prerecorded in a special library. The special programming automation system enables the consumer to add to the library computation programs for their specific areas.

Already developed prototypes of such systems (true, insufficiently perfected as yet) indicate that with their help the labor productivity of designers in machine building and construction is increased from 5 to 20 times! In terms of big scientific research institutes and design bureaus such systems must be built on the following hierarchical principle: a big computer center as the system's nucleus and small computers at its periphery (one per small group of workplaces).

General purpose computer centers also follow a trend of working with consumers on a sharing basis directly linked with the workplaces. In this case the effectiveness with which computer technology is used is increased several hundred percent.

Automated systems for the gathering and processing of experimental data and automated systems for testing complex projects substantially increase the labor productivity of the experimenters (in some cases several hundred or even a thousand times). Despite the tremendous variety of obtained data and of their processing methods, using the approach we described a considerable part of the creation of a processing system could be done promptly. Naturally, in this case the consumer can combine himself the proper technical facilities and the special programming automation system would enable him to develop rapidly any type of data processing program specifically applicable to his problems.

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The same could be said of the program-technical complexes used in the automation of continuous technological processes. As to integrated automated data processing systems controlling enterprises and organizations as single entities, even greater possibilities exist for storing up program packets. Many accounting and planning procedures are common for anyone using a computer (personnel accounting, for example), or to large consumer groups (technical and economic planning, for example). Naturally, a variety of technical (above all peripheral) systems (special cash registers in trade, production recorders in machine building, and so on) could be expediently used in automating control in various economic sectors. However, it would be easy to combine such sectors within a relatively small number of groups requiring identical technical facilities as well as a greater degree of shared program support.

A variety of problems related to the use of computers could be effectively resolved by properly organizing the work of sectors producing computers and automated data processing systems (program-technical complexes) for various types of application. However, the simple addition of even a considerable number of sectors, shops, and enterprises involved in automated data processing is still far from representing the new sector (information industry) we are discussing here. The combination of all these cells within a single system develops a new quality and the effect of the automation of data processing increases immeasurably. Unfortunately, however, many difficulties exist on the way to such a unification, difficulties which could not be surmounted within the framework of already described measures.

One of them is the difficulty to standardize documents for the proper use of already existing program packets. The total rejection of usual (paper) documents in the exchange of data among individual automated systems (particularly should they belong to different departments) is even more complex. Time losses and a rather considerable share of manual labor in the course of such exchanges almost reduce to naught the advantages of automated data processing. The result frequently is that one system has an extreme need for information data or computing facilities found within the system of another department. However, the absence of an integrated nationwide dispatcher service for data and resource control makes the coordination of efforts impossible.

Worldwide practice has shown the tremendous possibilities which exist whenever various centers for the automation of data processing merge within a network operating under single control (through a system of automatic communications). However, such a network (or, rather, its dispatcher service) should have a single boss. Precisely the same applies to powerful territorial computer centers used collectively and servicing along communications channels distant consumers who lack their own powerful computer equipment.

Finally, presently the automation sequence by sector is planned without the extensive consideration of existing interconnections. As a result, frequently the work of the automated shop or even the entire enterprise in which production operations have been computed to the minute and even to the second,

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breaks down by the fault of the supplier who, as previously, operates on the basis of monthly and even quarterly production and delivery plans. Naturally, the final solution to such problems must come from the USSR Gosplan. However, it cannot accomplish this without a powerful scientific base. In terms of planning the development of other sectors the Gosplan resolves such problems through the sectors themselves, using their institutes as the information sector has not been organizationally established and does not have its own institutes.

This leads to the conclusion that the information sector must be developed organizationally perhaps as a separate department with its specific functions other than sectors producing computers and automated data processing systems. As far as the latter are concerned, such a sector should act as a general client, not only directing and coordinating orders placed by other sectors but originating its own orders for projects under its direct jurisdiction (automated nationwide information-dispatcher service, network of shared use computer centers, and others). This would create a reliable base for the successful implementation of the party's task of insuring the further development and upgrading the effectiveness of automated control systems and computer centers, systematically combining them within a single governmental system for the gathering and processing of accounting, planning, and management data. The organic unity between the development of a technical base for automated data processing with the further advancement of economic mechanisms and organizational management structures would substantially upgrade the effectiveness of automated control systems and of the entire information sector. The most important task is to achieve such unity.

The function of the information sector should include the search for new areas for the effective application of computers and for helping sectors lacking adequate scientific potential for such searches. Let us note that research conducted in recent years has led to the discovery of new tremendous possibilities for the use of computers in health protection, sports, and ecology, the study and forecasting of social processes, and others.

Computer and systems producers have many concerns as well. In the 10th Five-Year Plan a transition to a new technical base will be made--to fourth generation computers with big integrated circuits. The technology of such circuits makes possible the solution of two most important problems: first, the creation of supermachines whose productivity will consist of many tens of millions of operations per second; secondly, the mass production of inexpensive and highly reliable microcomputers for broad use. Thanks to their miniaturization and low cost, the latter open entirely new paths to automation.

Let us note that the development and production of fourth generation computers and systems would be impossible without the comprehensive automation of their designing and the manufacturing of big integrated circuits, and their assembling and control at all stages of the technological process. In this area the Soviet scientists have acquired a substantial scientific base a large share of which has already been integrated in existing systems.

A considerable amount of scientific work will have to be done in the 10th Five-Year Plan. This will be the base for the development of fifth and subsequent generation computers and will offer new possibilities for their effective application.

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## SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE AND HEALTH PROTECTION PROBLEMS

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[Text] The people's way of life largely depends on the condition of their health which, in turn, is determined to a decisive extent by social conditions and the way of life of the members of society and by the specific social system of the organization of health care. The dialectics of the interconnection between the prevailing social way of life and the health protection system is found in their dependence on common socioeconomic factors, their complex intertwining, and their direct and indirect interaction and reciprocal influence.

Both the way of life and the health care system are determined, above all, by the production method, the socioclass structure, and the type of social relations. In this connection, the way of life is influenced also by the political system of the society and the level of development of science, culture, and education. The characteristics of the way of life, nature of people's activities and health, and their social protection depend on the specific historical forms which they assume under the conditions of one or another socioeconomic system, the social status and satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the toiling masses, and the moral-psychological atmosphere which predominates in society and in its individual social cells.

The socialist way of life and the Soviet system of real people's health care are organically interlinked. Therefore, the organization of the state system for safeguarding the health of the people, and free and skilled medical aid accessible to all toiling strata, specific to socialism, are not only inseparable elements but distinguishing characteristics of one of the most important sociopolitical advantages of our way of life. The socialist health care system is distinguished by its profoundly humanistic trend, concern not only for the preservation of but for strengthening and developing the health of the entire population, mass disease prevention, and improving the hygiene norms and conditions governing working and living conditions, public catering, and communal services. Soviet medicine and practical health care have emerged in one of the leading positions in the world. Suffice it to say that nearly one-third of all physicians in the world are working in our country.

The constitutional right to health is a great accomplishment of the developed socialist society. "This right," notes Article 42 of the draft of the new constitution, "secures free and skilled medical assistance provided by public health state institutions...," including a broad set of measures aimed at preventing and reducing morbidity and insuring the long and active life of the citizens.

Furthermore, the profound unity between way of life and health care are manifested in the fact that they are directly related to the development and reproduction of human capabilities and the molding of an all-round developed individual. In fact, the socialist way of life, having a humanistic content, includes the problem of the development of human creative forces. However, specifically refracted, this is also a medical problem, for the all-round development of the individual must be perfect physically as well. It is no accident that in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, noted that along with further improvements in the prosperity of the Soviet people and of their working and living conditions, progress in health care contributes to the molding of the new man, to the all-round development of the individual, and to the advancement of the socialist way of life.

Medicine and health care are involved in the natural scientific substantiation of human capabilities and needs. They establish the psychophysiological and medical norms of labor activities and consumption. They help to develop in the people hygienic health habits and rules of behavior in private and public life. It is precisely here that the interest of the socialist society in meeting the vital need of making everyone physically and mentally healthy is manifested most tangibly. Noting this situation, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that "Scientific research and direct concern for the good of man in the course of his daily life are most closely interwoven in medicine and health care."

The objective interconnection between the way of life and health care is clearly visible in practice, for the health of the people is a necessary prerequisite for a free, creatively saturated, and meaningful activity. We know that people cannot have a normal and optimistic way of life by living under conditions of fear of illness and premature aging. This is not all. People have long realized that illness prevents a person from fulfilling his social purpose. Significant individual and social relations are distorted substantially in the case of illness. It is no accident that K. Marx defined illness as a restriction on the freedom of life (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 1, p 64). Conversely, health provides possibilities for the manifestation of human sociobiological abilities in work, and in public and private life.

In this case we should bear in mind that Soviet health care plays presently a considerably greater role than ever before. The very need for the faster and more accessible realization of human actions in their completeness,

including the need for psychophysiological perfection, has increased considerably in connection with technical and scientific progress. The developed socialist society requires not simply the maintaining of health but a drastic upsurge of the physical and spiritual potential of man and the creation of conditions for the satisfaction of the need to be comprehensively healthy. Under socialism health is considered not only a personal but a social value. At the same time, the scale of application of medicine and health care in various realms of human activities and in society at large are broadened. The social significance of the labor of medical workers has reached a higher level. In the expression of M. I. Kalinin, "It is one of the major streams in overall communist work" (M. I. Kalinin, "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], in 4 Vols. Vol 1, Moscow, 1960, p 734).

The new qualitative level in the development of Soviet public health and medicine is linked, above all, to the solution of a number of theoretical and practical problems related to man's all-round development. The view formulated by I. I. Mechnikov at the very beginning of the 20th century to the effect that science has "undertaken the solution of some of the great problems affecting mankind" is presently acquiring not only practical confirmation but a new humanistic dimension. Medicine is not interested in merely the physical organization of man. The integration processes of contemporary scientific development face medicine with the study of the creative potential of the individual and the development of his intellectual and psychological capabilities. Concerned with the healthy and active life of man as the subject of labor, communication, and knowledge, medicine has thus a major influence on the general tuning of the spiritual life of society and on the moral health of the people. Its humanistic value orientation is also manifested in the fact that it is a factor of exposure to beauty and that it promotes the ethically healthy norms of socialist community life.

Therefore, the socialist way of life and health care are organically combined in terms of their humanistic direction, and common tasks reached in the course of the implementation of social recovery programs and medical-hygiene "capital investments in man." Under socialism the way of life and health care are "aimed" at the human individual, and at the reproduction of his social and natural capabilities. Therefore, any aspect of the daily activities of the Soviet people (in labor, consumption, way of life, and so on) could have an all-round scientific interpretation only if the medical-hygiene study of the way of life is added to its sociological analysis.

Yet, the most essential feature of Soviet health care, stemming from our way of life, is social and national equality in protecting the health of the working people, the preventive trend concerning not only the individual or individual groups but the population of the entire country, the governmental nature of medical aid, the involvement of the broad masses in protecting the health of the people, and mutual aid among medical workers.

The socialist production method creates the best possible conditions for a healthy way of life.

Describing a healthy way of life we should proceed from the harmonious combination and optimal coordination among various forms of human activities: productive, consuming, cultural-psychological, physiological, and so on. In principle we find in a healthy way of life a relative unity and coordination among the three levels of human life: social, psychological, and physiological. One or another way of life may be characterized as healthy only if the social and biological aspects of overall human life and development are organically interwoven. Naturally, such a balance does not exclude contradictions which, however, do not go beyond the range of normal activities. In brief, harmony in the performance of human sociobiological functions, linked with his physical and spiritual development and consistency between thoughts and actions is an essential aspect of a healthy way of life.

Active social and labor efforts, all-round manifestation of human physical and spiritual capabilities, and maximal social and psychophysiological activeness as producer and consumer are the most important criteria of a healthy way of life. In other words, a healthy way of life means the total involvement of the individual in various forms of social activities.

Speaking more concretely, the social indicators of a healthy way of life are characterized by the satisfaction of human needs for work, communication, recreation, medical aid, and social insurance in sickness and old age.

In addition to social indicators, however, a healthy way of life is characterized by a biological measure covering a great variety of aspects, levels, and means of activities on the part of man as a special natural being. Anthropometric data, neurophysiological and immunological characteristics, typological and individual features, sexual and national differences, inherent and acquired biological characteristics, and others are all reflected in the way of life of individuals and groups classified on the basis of natural quantitative and qualitative indicators.

Bearing this in mind we must take into consideration the fact that the concepts of "way of life" and "healthy way of life," i.e., the sociological and sociomedical content of the means of human activities have their specifics. The concept of a "healthy way of life" includes human activities essentially on the microsocial level (individual, group). This concept strongly reflects daily human life related to the satisfaction of prime natural needs (housing, food, labor, recreation, and others).

The draft of the constitution, which includes a broad spectrum of rights related to the foundations of human activities, prosperity, and health, enriches the content of this right even further. The report submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the draft of the USSR Constitution notes that "...Whereas the 1936 constitution speaks of the right to material insurance in case of illness and disability, now the question is formulated more broadly: the Soviet people are guaranteed the right to health protection."

A healthy way of life and its achievement greatly depend on subjective factors as well, on individual value directions aimed toward self-expression and the assertion of the human psychophysiological potential. That is why a healthy way of life is not simply the objective "sensible" satisfaction of material and spiritual needs but their purposeful molding and control.

Man begins to control his activities in the very first stages of his life. However, the need of the people to turn "their activities into the subject of their will and mind" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 42, p 93) greatly increases under contemporary conditions.

The sociomedical and psychophysiological aspects of the way of life represent, above all, rational and scientifically substantiated methods for actively influencing the physical and spiritual world of man with a view to the prevention of illness and the strengthening of human health. This means the building of a new type of relations between man and his natural and social environment.

In the final account, the objective of sociomedical control is to insure the development of a rationally organized and planned process of developing the type of forms of labor, consumption, and life which would contribute to the greatest extent to strengthening the health and extending the full life of the citizens.

Specific sociomedical and medical-ecological studies to determine the objective and subjective factors influencing one or another aspect of life on the different levels of activity and on the human organism assume great importance. On the basis of the achievements in the social and natural sciences we could formulate several principles governing human sociobiological behavior which could be used as guidelines for the normal activities of the human organism under given social and natural circumstances. Formulating one such principle, P. K. Anokhin noted that the basic rule of life insuring an optimal physiological condition is the following: "...The maximally possible factors governing a deviation of any physiological structure of the body must always be weaker in their totality than the maximal protective adaptations of the body to counter such deviations. Any condition in life which tries to equate this inequality with equality or, even worse, to distort this inequality, threatens the organism with catastrophe" (P. K. Anokhin, "Emotional Stress as Prerequisite for the Development of Neurogenic Diseases of the Cardiovascular System," VESTNIK AMN SSSR, No 6, 1965, p 16).

A healthy way of life offers tremendous opportunities for the development of human forces and for the mobilization of the capabilities and the energy of the individual which play a substantial role in the development of society. The measures taken by the party and Soviet state to strengthen and improve further the socialist way of life and health care are a reflection of the objective laws of our system and one of the indicators of its humanism and progress. It would be no exaggeration to say that a healthy way of life expresses the collectivistic trend of human activities determined by the material and spiritual values of developed socialism.

Yet, we should point out that the process of shaping a healthy way of life is still largely spontaneous. The task is to use the mechanisms of conscious and all-round influence on human activities under normal and pathological conditions, to control the development of spontaneous processes in this area, and thus to restrict their realm of action.

In this connection another task arises of energizing all means for the communist education of the working people, including physical, psychological, and medical, consolidating successes achieved in health care, and converting the principles of prevention into decisive and daily norms of human activities.

The dissemination of medical-hygiene knowledge among the population plays a great role in the solution of these problems. It is important for such knowledge to have a social rating and be disseminated at a level at which it would have a positive practical influence on individual and collective health.

While determined by the type of material and spiritual production and of social relations, the way of life also depends on the natural living conditions of the people. The problems of interaction among way of life, nature, and health have become particularly important under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. The socially reorganized biological nature of man maintains permanent and varied contacts with the environment. As science and practical experience show the present industrial changes in the environment and its transformation are not always desirable in terms of activities of the organism and the human mind.

Why is it that many environmental changes frequently become adverse to human health? On the theoretical level the following aspects should be noted. First, the ecological zone of optimal human activities is limited. Any intensive interference in the ecological balance leads to a disturbance of the amount of natural properties needed for a healthy life. Second, normal human activities in the "zone of ecological comfort" require a set of relatively permanent constants of environmental conditions. Any drastic disturbance of such conditions or of their correlation worsens the operational environment. Thirdly, like any living organism, the human organism is characterized by a certain conservatism in terms of structures and functions. Therefore, in the course of the transformation of the environment a lagging in the adaptation possibilities of the organism behind changes in its various vitally important characteristics may not only appear but intensify.

Under contemporary conditions the quality and intensiveness of the impact of physical, chemical, and other factors capable of directly influencing the human organism, bypassing social barriers, increase. Recently new diseases have appeared of genetic, toxicological, allergic, and endocrine origins. Their proliferation is closely linked with the extensive use of new substances and types of energy and with changes in the human chemical environment. Malignant tumors, cardiovascular, and neuromental diseases account for a major share of the overall morbidity structure.

Numerous observations have proved an increase in cancer morbidity in recent decades. The correlation between the manifestation of tumors and the quantity and period of influence of carcinogenic substances found in the polluted air has been clarified. The number of cancer cases has increased several hundred percent in Britain, the United States, and Japan. In the past 15 years alone (1950-1965) the number of cases of malignant tumors in the lungs, the bronchi, and the trachea per 100,000 men rose from 39.08 to 67.72 in Britain, from 2.65 to 12.64 in Japan, and from 18.44 to 39.86 in the United States. All this is no accident for it is precisely in these capitalist countries that an intensive process of increased environmental pollution is taking place. Thus, the United States accounts for about 40 percent of the entire pollution stemming from the industrial activities of the entire population on earth.

Cancer related illnesses are less frequent in the USSR than in Britain, the United States, and many other capitalist countries. This is the result of the implementation of extensive sociohygienic measures in industry, heating, transportation, urban construction, and other realms of the natural and industrial human living environment. In our country as well, however, the number of cancer related diseases is considerably higher compared with the turn of the century. This is explained by a number of reasons not the least among which are cases of cancer of the lungs and the upper respiratory tract as the result of increased carcinogenic substances in the atmosphere caused by the development of industry and transportation, increased tobacco smoking, and others.

The medical-hygiene sciences play an important role in the comprehensive development of the natural environment as a prerequisite for a healthy way of life. The task is for sociomedical forecasts not only to keep up with economic, technological, and ecological forecasts but to outstrip them, foretelling the possibility for the appearance of both positive and negative influences on the population's health caused by environmental changes. The physicians must adopt firmer and stronger positions in the matter of upgrading the ecological standard of the socialist society and the protection of human health from harmful environmental factors. Their voice must be heard more aggressively so that the rather widespread view that "Let us start with production and then with the elimination of harmful consequences" may be stopped ever-more firmly.

The active and effective behavior of the medical workers in our country gained its sociolegal backing in the Foundations of Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics on Health Protection" which stipulate the following: "The violation of sanitary-medical and sanitary-antiepidemiological rules and norms shall entail disciplinary, administrative, or criminal liability..." Such strict yet humane legislation aimed at the medical protection of the environment is unknown anywhere else in the world. The leading Soviet hygienist F. G. Krotkov is profoundly right by believing that "We must not neglect any measure whatever for the protection of the air, water and soil, the vegetal and animal world, and the people from the 'ricochet' impact

of technical progress. Any kind of difficulty or expense is nothing compared with the greatness and global nature of the objective." In this case we should bear in mind that preventive hygiene planning must be rated on a comprehensive basis.

The attitude toward nature is indirectly influenced, regulated, and controlled by the social way of life. It depends on the development of the ways and means of labor and on changes in the technological base of society. That is how the "way of life-technology-health" system of relations is established.

A consideration of this system shows that here again we come across rather serious medical-hygienic contradictions. On the one hand, it is unquestionable that technical achievements contribute to the growth of material prosperity, to improving human working conditions, and to upgrading the sanitary-hygienic level of industry and life. This results in the fact that some illnesses are encountered ever-less frequently while others become less dangerous. On the other hand, industrialization and urbanization, production mechanization and automation, and the accelerated pace and intensification of the psychoemotional saturation of life may contribute to the appearance of new diseases or change the old "classical" pathological forms.

The new technological environment and the increased speed of machine tools and other machinery particularly increase the requirements facing the human senses, intensifying mental stress. This leads to the appearance of a disharmony between the neuropsychological and the sociotechnological rhythms, frequently manifested in serious forms of mental illness.

Psychoemotional and biological disturbances are the result not only of extraordinary irritants in the industrial environment but of the increased complexity of human interrelationships, and of changes in means of activities. In the century of tempestuous scientific and technical progress and social population mobility the old psychological dissociation of the people is eliminated. This situation leads to the fact that all channels of intellectual and emotional relations among people become crowded to the limit and, occasionally, overloaded. The nervous system, subjected to the steady and ever-growing impact of a variety of mental factors, including negative ones, occasionally fails to cope with them as a result of which morbidity-creating situations develop in individuals and collectives. This is particularly intensified under the conditions of an exploiting society in which the working people are in an atmosphere of constant social discomfort and in which stress situations are created by economic, political, and social inequality, class oppression and discrimination, and lack of confidence in the future.

In the past 20 years neuromental illnesses have become widespread. An "epidemic" of such diseases has spread in the United States, the FRG, Britain, and other capitalist countries. According to official data there were over 17.5 million cases of mental disturbances in the United States, requiring serious treatment. All in all, from 25 to 50 million people in

in the United States are subjected to mental disturbances (including light forms). Mental patients account for over 30 percent of filled hospital beds in the United States.

Selective studies conducted in various parts of the United States in the postwar period (including both the urban and rural populations) revealed that in 1969 the extent of neuromental diseases reached 130 to 140 per 1,000 population, compared with 69.4 in 1938. In recent years a spreading of severe diseases such as schizophrenia, and alcoholic and senile psychoses, neuroses and pathological mental development has been noted in the capitalist countries. Unlike the capitalist countries, in the European socialist countries the median indicators of the proliferation of nervous-mental diseases is considerably lower, accounting for approximately 35 to 37 cases per 1,000 population, i.e., over 300 percent less than in the United States (see "Obshchestvo i Zdorov'ye Cheloveka" [Society and Human Health], Moscow, 1973, p 156). The healthier nature of the socialist way of life is confirmed also by the fact that in the last decade the percentage of mental illnesses in our country has shown a considerable declining trend. Thus, the number of new cases of mental illness in the USSR declined from 54.4 per 10,000 population in 1940 to 32.7 in 1960, including from 5.5 to 3.2 for schizophrenia, and from 16.4 to 6.3 for neuroses and reactive conditions (see Yu. A. Dobrovolskiy, "Zdorov'ye Naseleniya Mira v XX Vekе" [The Healthy Populations in the World in the 20th Century], Moscow, 1968, p 395).

Automated technology under socialism modern communications and construction facilities, and so on, enable us to change the artificial social environment in the direction of its utilization in the interest of human health. Here again, however, nonantagonistic contradictions remain between the individual factors of the human technically equipped social life and man's psychobiological characteristics. As the pace of social development rises along with the social and territorial mobility of the population and urbanization, the human organism cannot always promptly adapt itself to the new environment. Hence the increase in some forms of pathological deviations.

Let us take as an example the urban way of life. The many-sidedness of contacts, psychoemotional saturation and communication intensiveness, as well as population concentration bring about substantial changes in the quality and very content of activities in a modern city. Our society is unfamiliar with the contradictions related to urbanization which the "urban crisis" creates under capitalist conditions.

The new social and psychoprophylactic climate of the socialist city neutralizes and softens many adverse factors which worsen the health of the working people. The study of a large group of Moscow residents, compared with similar American health indicators, revealed that in the United States the hypertonic disease in men aged 25 to 34 is 100 percent more frequent than in the USSR. An approximately similar ratio is found in the 35 to 44 age group, reduced only in the more adult age groups.

Convincing data exist showing a worsening of the general health condition of the urban population in the bourgeois countries related to increasing water and air pollution. A French newspaper ironically wrote that "Paris may be the heart of France but is hardly its lungs." According to the newspaper LA NATION, 96 percent of the Parisians polled stated that their health is threatened by atmospheric pollution. Today tens of millions of Americans drink substandard water.

Extensive measures are being implemented in our country to improve the urban air. Thus, conversion to gas fuel, electrification of production processes, encouragement of public transportation, and development of electric power transportation improved considerably the quality of the air in Moscow, Leningrad, Gor'kiy, Minsk, and many other cities. Systems for the conversion of fuel oil to gas are being built in a number of cities (such as Dzerzhinsk, Gor'kovskaya Oblast). According to the specialists this will reduce the emission of sulfurous gas in the air ten times. Very tangible results have been achieved. Thus, the content of carbon monoxide in the atmosphere over Los Angeles is twice that of Moscow, 3 times that of Vienna, 5 times that of Munich, and nearly 10 times that of London and Rome.

However, this is not to say that under socialism urbanization and an urban way of life have no adverse influence on human health. Under the conditions of an urban way of life the ties between people and nature change. This is not always favorable from the viewpoint of health protection. As the "inorganic body of man" (K. Marx), nature is a natural and necessary part of human life. For example, we cannot ignore the natural factors of the rural way of life which retain their permanent value in terms of the physical and moral-aesthetic development of man. This has been mentioned by many outstanding representatives of Soviet medicine. Thus, according to S. P. Botkin, the clean rural air, lack of city irritation, psychological contacts, and natural communications have a most beneficial impact on man "with no pharmaceutical treatment whatever." A similar view has been supported by A. A. Ostroumov, another major clinicist, who wrote as follows: "The change from urban to rural life with walks, swimming, and mental rest benefits both the digestive and nervous systems..."

In this connection let us express certain considerations on the means for surmounting major disparities between town and country in general and in the field of public care in particular. Such surmounting is linked, above all, to the solution of a number of socioeconomic and cultural problems. Furthermore, in this case we must also take into consideration the natural-ecological aspects of the urban and rural ways of life. The requirements of the building of communism and of strengthening the health of the population are consistent with the further development of the realm of utilization of natural resources. The growing attraction among the urban population for one or another merit of the rural way of life and for nature is confirmed by the fact that every year a large number of people move from the cities to the villages. In the future this migration will apparently rise,

particularly among the elderly. In this case it is not a question of "back to nature" or of an orientation "toward the countryside"--theories which have become widespread in bourgeois sociology--but of the natural aspiration of man to retain his direct contact with nature--the permanent source of physical and spiritual development. At the same time, however, let us note the still high level of migration of the rural population, the youth in particular, to the cities. Also growing is the so-called "pendulum" migration in which some working people while living in the villages commute for work to the cities.

A combination of the best aspects of the urban and rural ways of life is a promising method for surmounting the major disparities between town and country (including health protection). In this connection it would be pertinent to note that discussing the society of the future, Engels pointed out that it will have to resolve the problem of combining "the advantages of the urban and rural ways of life eliminating both their one-sidedness and their shortcomings" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 4, p 333). The possibility of the socialist society to control urbanization and changes in the way of life of the people leads us to believe that this problem is fully resolvable.

These few aspects of interrelationship among life, nature, and human health considered above show the importance of the comprehensive approach to the solution of the social problems of developed socialism on the conceptual, theoretical, applied, and technological levels. The objective interconnection between the way of life and health protection, in which problems of human social and biological development are organically interwoven, is a clear confirmation of this situation.

Considering problems of the way of life and of its level and quality as determinants of social progress, modern bourgeois sociologists and social democratic leaders frequently address themselves to the problems of environmental and health protection. Thus, according to the American sociologist D. Bell, "The postindustrial society is determined by the quality of life measured in terms of services and comforts--health protection, education, organization of recreation, and development of the arts now considered desirable by and possible for all." The American scientist J. Forrester believes that the "quality of life" is characterized by the following aspects: 1. the level of stress situations and, in general, of "life difficulties;" 2. the population density level; 3. level of environmental pollution; 4. quality of nutrition and health care. E. Eppler, one of the theoreticians of the West German social democratic movement, thinks on the same level, believing that the "quality of life" is measured by indicators such as availability of medical services, environmental protection, urban improvements, confidence in the future, and others.

As we may see, resolving the vital social problems of contemporary capitalism, the bourgeois theoreticians ascribe great importance to problems of health protection. It is understandable, for these problems play an important role in the struggle waged by the working people for their vital demands. The

entire point, however, is that such problems, like the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution affecting society and nature, are considered by the bourgeois sociologists separately from the economic and political structure of capitalism. Problems of eliminating private ownership, exploitation, and alienated labor are either not posed at all or are analyzed extremely abstractly. Ignoring the socioclass nature of the bourgeois and socialist health care systems, the theoreticians of the "general prosperity" society are trying to suppress the radical distinctions separating them. That is why all their attempts to deprive socialism from the historical initiative in resolving problems of the way of life in connection with the development of the protection of the health of the masses and of improving the quality of the environment are unsound.

Changing the tools and technical means of human activities, and applying the methods of the socialist use of nature, our society took firmly the path of a harmonious union between man and his habitat. According to G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy, as early as 1922 V. I. Lenin said that socialism would be inconceivable without friendship with nature (see DRUZHBA NARODOV, No 4, 1970, p 215). The optimal-rational relations between society and nature become the most important law governing developed socialism.

Unity in the preservation of nature and human health under the conditions of the socialist way of life leads to the conclusion that socialism not simply "professes" humanism but is the practical embodiment of humanism in its factual relations. The socialist way of life and Soviet health care in the stage of developed socialism are manifesting comprehensively their collectivistic advantages, directly influencing the molding of a physically and spiritually perfect individual.

In the light of the sociohumanistic values of the way of life and public health under socialism the very profound meaning of the basic stipulation of the 25th CPSU Congress to the effect that "There is no more important social task than concern for the health of the Soviet people" becomes understandable.

In this connection the medical workers and the public organizations face new problems whose solution will contribute to the elimination of the shortcomings in the field of health protection discussed at the 25th party congress. They deal with improving the organization of public health, expanding the network of hospitals and polyclinics, and increasing the production of medical equipment and of highly effective drugs. Medical science must be developed further and the struggle against the most dangerous diseases must be increased. A great deal remains to be done to improve the health care of mothers and children, and expand the network of resorts, rest homes, and boarding houses. The work level of some medical institutions is justifiably criticized. "Considerable funds are being allocated for the development of health care in the 10th Five-Year Plan," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th party congress. "They must be used in full for their specific purpose."

Currently the construction of over 80 big medical institutions is underway, including general hospitals with 3,000 beds for adults and 1,000 beds for children each. The construction of an all-union oncology scientific center is nearing completion. An all-union cardiological center and other medical institutions built with funds earned by working people at communist subbotniks are being built. An extensive program of different measures aimed at eliminating shortcomings and resolving problems related to the further development of medical science and practice and to upgrading the quality and effectiveness of the work of all units within the Soviet health care system was elaborated at the December 1976 all-union conference of the aktiv of health care workers.

Specific social, psychological, and medical-hygienic studies of the socialist way of life are scheduled to play a major role in the expansion and intensification of the social base of health protection. It would be hard to overestimate the seriousness of this problem bearing in mind that a considerable percentage of the population (and of the medical workers themselves) has not as yet fully realized the significance of the way of life in terms of strengthening individual and public health. The growth of the socio-cultural meaning of health in the period of the scientific and technical revolution requires deeper studies in the field of individual and collective prophylaxis, labor psychohygiene, the hygiene functions of the family, and the study of humanistic, cultural-educational, and economic problems of Soviet health care.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution eloquently proves that all realms of policy of our party and state have a clear humanistic trend, contributing to the growth of the population's level of prosperity and health.

The implementation of such tasks on a new quality level is possible if the medical workers, together with the public organizations, and with the active support of all working people become imbued with the necessity to make even more active use of the advantages of socialism which makes it possible to regulate social relations in the field of health care with a view to insuring the harmonious development of the physical and spiritual forces and high level of work capacity and a long active life of the citizens.

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POWER BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE

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[Article by B. Kurashvili, candidate of juridical sciences]

[Text] The idea of socialist democracy expressed in the draft of the USSR fundamental law is more complete than that included in the current constitution. This is consistent with the higher level of social development reached by the country. This idea imbues the entire draft and all its sections and chapters, and is directly entered in a number of specific stipulations closely developing the mechanism of democracy in the mature socialist society. Unquestionably, these stipulations (with possible editorial corrections), codifying the greatest gain of the working people, will become part of the new constitution.

At the same time we would like to express certain considerations aimed at improving the draft under discussion.

In our view, it would be expedient to include in the constitution the summed-up expression of the idea of socialist democracy and the concise and comprehensive characterization of its entire system. This could be best included in Article 2. The article begins with the following sentence: "The entire power in the USSR belongs to the people." Here it would be important to develop this basic stipulation (specifying that it is a question of the state power). I would suggest the following draft for the article:

"The full state power in the USSR belongs to the people. The power entrusted by the people to the organs of the state and the officials is used by them exclusively for purposes of the administration of the state and may not exceed the limits established by the law.

"The Soviet people administer the state mainly through a system of freely elected representative organs--soviets of people's deputies--which rally the entire population and are answerable to the people for the state of affairs in all areas of governmental life. The soviets of people's deputies combine legislative with executive activities and are the basis for the establishment of the administrative organs of the state.

"The state administrative organs shall systematically inform the citizens of their activities and conduct them with the help of the social aktiv. They shall be accountable to and controlled by the respective soviets of people's deputies.

"Expressing the interests of the people as a whole and of their individual social strata and groups, the public organizations shall actively participate in the administration of the state. In this case they shall act in accordance with their statutory tasks.

"Directly and through the trade unions and other public organizations, the labor collectives shall participate in the establishment of state organs and in their activities. Every citizen of the USSR shall have the possibility to participate in the administration of the state directly, through the soviets of people's deputies and other state organs, as well as through the public organizations and labor collectives.

"Problems of state life broadly affecting the interests of society shall be submitted to nationwide discussion and the most important among them shall be put to nationwide vote (referendum)."

Should such a text be accepted, the draft articles it encompasses (5, 7, 92) would be naturally deleted, while articles developing the individual elements of the democratic system would be interpreted as concretizing Article 2.

Why is such a significantly expanded draft of Article 2 needed?

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum in his report on the draft of the constitution, this juridical document is of the greatest political significance. Applied to the matter considered here this concept acquires particular power: the codification of the socialist democratic system is the core of the constitution. That is why, we believe, the general presentation of this system is so important. Such a task could be carried out with the help of a scientific commentary of the fundamental law had this subject not played such a particular role in constitutional regulations. The concentrated and overall accessible reflection of the entire socialist democratic system within a single article would play a unique role in asserting in the citizens of the USSR and, particularly, in the future generations the feeling that they are the masters of their country, and an awareness of their responsibility for it. The usefulness of such an article in the ideological struggle as well is self-evident.

On the purely juridical level the suggested expanded draft, defining the overall mechanism of socialist democracy, would contribute to the purposeful conceptual development of "pieces" and "parts" of this mechanism. This is the task both of the constitution itself as well as of the legislation which expands its provisions. Actually, this is what is meant by the current text of Article 2 which characterizes the soviets as the political foundation of the USSR and stipulates that "All other state organs are controlled by and accountable to the soviets." However, the lack of elaboration of this

stipulation prevents it from becoming a juridically impeccable base for other more specific stipulations. It properly defines relations between soviets and "executive and administrative organs" but does not extend to state organs such as the courts for this would clash with the principle of judiciary independence (Article 154). Nor could it be unconditionally applied to the procuracy organs which, according to the draft of the fundamental law are not answerable to the soviets in general but only to one of them--the USSR Supreme Soviet. Therefore, on the juridical level as well Article 2 calls for an expanded integral characterization of the entire system of popular rule in the USSR.

The suggested draft of Article 2 could play a certain role in establishing a uniform unequivocal terminology extensively applied in governmental life, in legislation in particular. Such an opportunity should not be wasted. Naturally, the new constitution will be valuable mainly because of its content. However, terminology as well is no petty matter, or else is the type of "petty" matter which becomes particularly important in the fundamental law of the state.

Borrowing some terms from the 1936 constitution the draft speaks of "organs of power and administration." However, are such organs sufficiently clearly separated with the help of such terms? Thus, the USSR Supreme Soviet is described as the organ of state power (Article 106). However, the USSR Council of Ministers as well is acknowledged as the organ of power (Article 127). At the same time it turns out that problems of state management are resolved both by the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Supreme Soviet (Article 130): therefore, there is a division of labor between them within the framework of the same field of vast activities--state administration. The situation is not saved by the terms "executive and administrative" as applicable to the "administrative organs." We know that the soviets not only pass normative decisions (the supreme soviets of the union and the republics pass laws), but directly participate in their execution. Generally, this is the distinguishing feature of the activities of the representative organs of the socialist state and the main characteristic feature of socialist parliamentarianism, while the "executive and administrative organs" are not limited to the execution of the laws but are engaged in legislation as well (USSR Council of Ministers decrees are a structural part of Soviet legislation). Such lack of terminological clarity hinders the substantiation of an essentially accurate classification of state organs.

Here is yet another similar example. Article 2 of the draft states: The people "implement the state power" through the soviets; yet, Articles 7 and 48 state that the public organizations and the citizens participate in the "administration of state and public affairs." Does this mean that the public organizations and the citizens do not participate in the implementation of the power of the state? Obviously, this is far from being the idea in the draft. Thus, granting the public organizations the right to initiate legislation in the USSR Supreme Soviet (Article 111) could not be interpreted as other than their participation in the implementation of state power.

Clearly, we should proceed from the fact that the expressions "implementation of the state power," "activities of the organs of the state," and "state administration" are synonymous. The last is the most common. We know that V. I. Lenin never reduced state administration to executive-administrative activities, understanding it in the broad meaning of the term, not only including in the concept the work of the soviets but pointing out that "Judicial activities are one of the functions of state administration" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 197). The expressions "organ of the state," "organ of state power," and "organ of state administration" are synonymous as well. Since it would be inconceivable without powers, any organ of the state is the organ of state power, and since it manditorily engages in state administration in its area in the broad meaning of the term, it is an organ of state administration as well.

The scientific substantiation for the classification of state organs is no insurmountable problem. The 1936 USSR Constitution resolved it essentially correctly. Terminologically, however, its solution was not sufficiently strict which created a number of difficulties. In a number of cases the draft has avoided familiar artificial structures and terminological inaccuracies. Thus, the universal understanding of the state administration sector is codified with perfect accuracy (Article 134). As to the question under consideration let us simply return to the classical and universal distinction invariably used by the founders of Marxism-Leninism between representative (popularly elected) and administrative organs of the state.

The term "state administration" does not mean in the least the sanctioning of "bare administrating." Lenin was an irreconcilable opponent of such a style of work. However, this did not prevent his extensive use of the term "administrative" and of its derivates. The use of expressions such as "executive and administrative organ" in both the current constitution and the draft under discussion is an emphasis of the supremacy of the soviets within the system of state organs. However, it is precisely this meaning that expresses more clearly the distinction between representative and administrative state organs. These terms should have been included in Article 2, using them subsequently throughout the constitutional text. In this connection Section V should be entitled "Supreme Representative and Administrative Organs of the State Power of the USSR," while Section VI should have the title "Foundations for the Structure of Representative and Administrative Organs of the State Rule in Union Republics." Naturally, corresponding changes should be made to the texts of the articles in these sections.

As we may see, in a number of respects Article 2 could and should be of key significance in the new USSR Constitution. The further elaboration of this article deserves, therefore, exceptional attention.

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CSO: 1802

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PEOPLE--THE CREATORS OF SOCIALIST LAW AND ORDER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 66-68

[Article by K. Varlamov, doctor of historical sciences, A. Kositsyn, doctor of juridical sciences, S. Krylov, professor, and A. Migolat'yev, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The draft of the new USSR Constitution is a document of universal-historical significance. This is determined by the fact that it is the first time that the foundations of developed socialism are fully legislatively codified, but also because of the clearly expressed dynamics of social development and its high social purposes, formulating the trends leading to the establishment of the future communist social self-administration. The new constitution will juridically codify the achievements of the Soviet people which are of major international significance. Its adoption will unquestionably have a powerful long-term impact on the course of the world's revolutionary process.

The priceless ideological wealth of the draft is found also in the fact that, on the basis of scientific analysis and summation of the heroic distance covered by the Soviet people, it systematically promotes the principle of true democracy, depicting its factual embodiment in the political, economic, and social spheres. The system of socialist democracy, whose nucleus is the Communist Party, includes the soviets of people's deputies, the state administrative apparatus, accountable to them, the mass public organizations and collectives of working people, and every Soviet person. The introduction in the new constitutional draft of a special section entitled "The State and the Individual" is the manifestation of the greatest accomplishments of the socialist system and a convincing proof of its profoundly democratic nature.

The Soviet people are the full and undivided rulers of their country. They have sovereign political power and administer all public affairs. This is guaranteed by the very nature of our economic and sociopolitical system, the nature and supreme objective of socialist output, the sum total of citizens' rights and obligations, and the entire social development, way of life, and culture of socialism. The idea of the supremacy of the people permeates the entire content of the draft of the new constitution of the

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country. It is the concentrated manifestation of the titanic struggle waged by the Communist Party for the good of the people and for their happiness and prosperity.

Let us draw attention to the fact that the draft not only sums up the results of the distance covered and codifies historical accomplishments but also opens new possibilities and formulates basic tasks for the future. It could be said that the new constitution will become a nationwide program for progress toward communism. The further development and advancement of democracy is the pivot of this program. In this connection legislative support of promising initiatives launched by the working people for the creation and development of prerequisites for communist self-administration in the main realms of social life--economic, political, and spiritual--assumes particular importance. At the developed socialist stage the role of the toiling masses steadily grows in the administration of each of these areas. Today it is no longer possible to imagine the administration of the socialist state, the national economy, education, health care, and culture, for example, without the trade unions, the Komsomol, various scientific-technical and cultural-educational organizations, creative associations of writers, painters, composers, architects, cinematographers, and journalists, and so on. The importance of forms of participation of the working people in administration such as general meetings of workers and employees, permanent production conferences, various public councils and design bureaus, and so on, is growing.

The role of the working people in the maintenance of public order and in the struggle against phenomena alien to the socialist way of life--profit, money grubbing, indifference, bureaucracy, parisitism, drunkenness, petit bourgeois mentality, and other violations of communist morality--is becoming ever-more significant. New forms of active interaction among state law and order organs and institutions born of the creativity and initiative of the masses such as the voluntary people's units, and public order strong points are arising. In the course of time they could become important centers for educational work at home in town and country.

Reality has shown that the Soviet militia plays a great role in the implementation of the functions of the socialist state of the whole people. In this connection it would be expedient, in our view, legislatively to codify in the new constitution the place and role of the Soviet militia in the mechanism of the socialist state and in the political system of our society as a whole. At the present time the activities of the Soviet militia, bearing in mind its function as guardian of the law, is essentially of nationwide importance. This very fact determines the important position of the militia within the system of the organs of state administration. By virtue of its position, functions, and role in the political system of the socialist society the militia is on the same level with the procuracy and the courts. We deem it expedient, therefore, for the new constitution to formulate a special provision which would define its place within the system of the law-protecting organs of the Soviet state. It is necessary to emphasize the tasks of the militia in the preservation of state and public order, the

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protection of the rights and interests of the citizens, the prompt prevention and stopping of crime, the fast and full investigation of crime, and the providing of comprehensive assistance in uprooting the reasons for crimes and other antisocial actions.

Even though the current legislation and departmental normative acts stipulate with exhausting completeness the tasks and ways and means of work of the militia, the constitutional codification of its place and role would contribute to upgrading the authority of this important state organ and would be of major social significance.

It would also be expedient to formulate and include in the constitution a point which would establish the role and significance of social prevention of antisocial actions which is the most important objective of the guardians of the law and of other state and public organizations. In the party's program documents and in current legislation this objective has been clearly formulated. However, its constitutional "legalization" would emphasize even more strongly the humanistic nature of our system and the activities of the socialist state of the whole people.

Finally, it seems to us, the question of including in the new constitution a special article stipulating the objectives and purposes of punishment should be discussed. As we know, the party program adopted at the eighth congress of the RKP(b), drafted by V. I. Lenin, included a special point on punishment methods as means for educational influence. The party directives and legislation passed in recent years have developed these Leninist concepts in the direction of the further democratization and humanization of the penal-legal and corrective labor practice. The constitutional codification of its main objectives and tasks would be a new important step along this way.

Unquestionably, Soviet constitution day will become one of the greatest and most beloved revolutionary holidays. We believe that 30 or 31 December could be proclaimed Soviet constitution day and celebrated in our country in connection with the founding of the USSR. The combination of these holidays would be deeply symbolic. Furthermore, in connection with the new year's ceremonies, such a date would embody the great heroic traditions and the eternally new Soviet country and its tireless march toward the peaks of social progress, pursuing the different and complex path in the discovery of previously unknown forms of social structure.

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CSO: 1802

## PHILOSOPHERS' VIEW

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 68-71

[Article by B. Man'kovskiy, doctor of juridical sciences, A. Myslivchenko, doctor of philosophical sciences, and A. Spirkin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] Discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution, the Soviet social scientists assess it guided by high civic feelings and in accordance with their professional duty and, consequently, from the scientific-theoretical viewpoint. This social position is determined by the tasks assigned by our party to Marxist-Leninist science and to the scientists engaged in the study of the laws governing socialist progress.

We, philosophers, consider the draft of the constitution not only a document of tremendous historical significance but also as a new contribution made by our Communist Party, its Leninist Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of society. The theoretical concepts and conclusions found in the draft have not only a legal but a tremendous moral force for every Soviet person, for they are based on historically tested Marxist-Leninist principles, the collective wisdom of our party and the entire people, and the experience of the fraternal socialist countries. Therefore, there is no doubt that the opinion of the Soviet people in assessing the draft of the constitution will be unanimous: "We approve warmly." These words are now being voiced by workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, students, pensioners, and all Soviet people. They are printed in newspapers and journals, and heard on the radio and at numerous meetings and gatherings. They were voiced by all the associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy who expressed their views and suggestions at a meeting dedicated to the discussion of the constitutional draft. As represented by their leading scientific institution, the Soviet philosophers have thus added their voice to the voices of all citizens of our country, fully approving the draft of the new USSR Constitution. Here we would like to share certain considerations on possible additions or refinements of some of its stipulations.

For example, the preamble of the draft reads as follows: "Having fulfilled the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet state became the state of the whole people." However, the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat is broader than that of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat: it includes other forms of political organization of society as well. Therefore, it would be expedient to contrast precisely the various stages in the development of a socialist type statehood, i.e., the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the whole people, rather than the dictatorship of the proletariat with the state of the whole people.

Furthermore, in the present draft the preamble uses the term "has become the state of the whole people." It seems to us that the words "has become" do not cover sufficiently the full content of the dialectics of development of our statehood. It speaks merely of the result of this process. Its nature and content could be expressed more accurately through the words "has grown to," i.e., the fact that it has reached a higher level. Therefore, we suggest that this formulation as found in the preamble be expressed as follows: "Having fulfilled its tasks, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has developed into the socialist state of the whole people."

The social structure of the developed socialist society is represented in our country above all by the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia.

As we know, distinguishing among these largest social groups is quite substantial from the viewpoint of the Marxist-Leninist theory of society, the more so since their further rapprochement remains one of the most important problems of social development on the path to communism. On this basis we submit that in the stipulation which states that developed socialism is the "society of mature socialist social relations in which, on the basis of the rapprochement among all social strata and the juridical and factual equality of all nations and nationalities a new historical community--the Soviet people--has appeared" the words "all social strata" be replaced by the words "the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia."

In our view, some additions must be made also to the parts dealing with ownership. Various types of ownership exist in the developed socialist society each of which fulfills its strictly defined function. Individual ownership, for example, aimed at satisfying the individual needs of the Soviet citizens, plays a major role. Article 12 of the draft of the USSR Constitution reveals the significance of private ownership in the socialist society, while Article 9 which enumerates ownership objects makes no mention of it. This gap, it seems to us, should be filled.

We believe that one of the basic ways for rapprochement among the currently existing national and cooperative forms of ownership of capital goods will be achieved in the future through the agroindustrial complexes which are already now becoming widespread. That is why we suggest that the following words be included in the second paragraph of Article 11 which discusses such a rapprochement of ownership forms: "The development of agroindustrial complexes contributes to such a rapprochement.

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Under the conditions of the developed socialist society in which, to the extent of his talents and experience, every honest person yields the results of his work for the good of society, broad scope exists for the manifestation of all forms of socially useful creativity. In our country the people's talents and experience are considered the most valuable social property, a social resource and a prerequisite and condition for its progress. Our party and state generously encourage the people who display a creative attitude toward their labor. Mass creative activity is a characteristic feature of our society, vividly manifested in the activities of rationalizers and inventors and in the broadest possible blossoming of the people's artistic creativity. Taking all this into consideration we suggest that the text of Article 27 (second paragraph) be expanded as follows: "The development of creative activities in the fields of science, education, literature, art, and professional and folk creativity, as well as the activities of rationalizers and inventors are comprehensively encouraged in the USSR."

Science today plays a greater role than ever before in the life of society. To the extent to which it has become involved in material production, science has turned into a direct social productive force. However, under the conditions of the transitional epoch, scientific progress, particularly progress in the natural sciences, is imbued with profound internal contradictions. Immeasurably increasing the power of man over nature, and being basically the creation of the human genius, under the conditions of antagonistic social relations it could be used for objectives hostile to man and mankind as well.

Taking into consideration the incredibly great responsibility of the scientists for the social consequences of their scientific research, and emphasizing thereby the humanistic trend of science in the socialist society, unlike the situation under capitalism, we suggest that a new paragraph be added to Article 26 of the draft to read as follows: "The use of science to the detriment of the peace, reciprocal understanding among the nations, and the life and dignity of the individual is forbidden."

The world outlook of the Soviet people is imbued with humanism. It is based on the noble idea of creating a society in which the very possibility to build one's own happiness on the unhappiness of others will be eliminated, a society in which people will be free forever from social inequality. Our society bases its attitude toward the individual on the great humanistic principle proclaimed by the founders of Marxism: the free development of one is a prerequisite for the free development of all.

Bearing in mind the exceptional importance and complexity of the dialectics governing relations between the individual and society, and the basic rights, freedoms, and obligations of the citizens, we would like particularly to emphasize the need for responsibility (not only legal but moral) of every person to society, to his production collective, his family, and his conscience for all his actions. We have in mind, above all, the upgrading of individual responsibility for one's labor and its quality and productivity,

for a thrifty attitude toward the natural resources of our country, for the free and peaceful toil of all Soviet people, and for the happiness of the growing generation.

Noting as a whole the tremendous importance and meaningfulness of the section on "The State and the Individual" in the draft of the constitution, we nevertheless consider necessary the following amendments to this section. In our view, it would be expedient to begin Article 39 as follows: "A socialist and truly democratic society has been built in the USSR." We believe that the specification calling for a 41-hour work week in Article 41 is unnecessary. Obviously, the new constitution will remain effective over a long period of time. The possibility is not excluded that within that period the duration of the work week may be reduced even if this were to apply, for example, to women only, for the question of reducing the working day for women with children is already being discussed by our economists and sociologists.

Article 5 distinguishes between nationwide discussion and nationwide voting (referendum). We know that referenda are extensively used in approving the constitution and other fundamental laws passed by the socialist countries. Taking into consideration the exceptional importance of the ratification of the draft of the USSR Constitution, we deem it not only expedient but necessary to follow the nationwide discussion with a ratification of the constitution through a nationwide vote, i.e., to hold a referendum. This will increase even further the significance of the constitution and will upgrade the responsibility of every one of our citizens to the fundamental law governing the life of our society.

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CSO: 1802

## NATIONAL DIGNITY OF THE SOVIET CITIZEN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 71-72

[Article by G. Zimanas, KOMMUNIST (Lithuania) editor-in-chief]

[Text] The draft of the new USSR Constitution reflects all aspects of life of the Soviet people and their activities or, in other words, their way of life. Naturally, it ascribes great importance to the party's national policy and to relations among nations. These problems are extensively covered in the draft. In addition to emphasizing the total equality among all nations, nationalities, and races, a number of articles deal with the state structure of the entire country as a multinational union formed as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary unification of equal Soviet socialist republics.

These principles are equally important within the country and abroad.

In many areas tribes are forming new polyglot and multinational nations. The example of the Soviet Union and its solution of the national problem are of tremendous importance to these nations, inspiring and teaching them. In this case not the various articles are important but the fact that they reflect factual relations. The draft of the constitution does not give broad promises but notes the existing state of affairs. This is its source of strength.

Let us take Lithuania as an example. Next year we shall celebrate here the founding of the first Soviet republic, subsequently suppressed by interventionists from the West and local oppressors. The characteristic of this 60th anniversary for Lithuania and the entire Baltic area is that it consists of two periods--socialist and capitalist. No one could object to the fact that under USSR conditions all relations developed in Lithuania during the socialist period offered immeasurably greater possibilities for the development of production forces and for the upsurge of the prosperity and culture of the Lithuanian people.

The Soviet people support the draft of the constitution. In the course of their discussions they submit their suggestions in an effort to make it perfect.

For the first time the draft emphasizes the significance of the national dignity of the Soviet person. This is an important characteristic. National dignity is linked with the dignity of the citizen in general--the member of a society free from exploitation, developing socialist democracy, a society of the first victorious socialist country. In the socialist society national dignity does not disappear in the least. On the contrary, it develops even further and acquires a new meaning. Some people who are quite sensitive in terms of their national dignity fail to understand this. However, noting it in members of other nations, they are ready to consider it almost as being nationalism.

It seems to me that national dignity should have been mentioned not only in Article 64 but in Article 36 as well which stipulates the imposition of legal penalties for any direct or indirect restriction of rights or the granting of direct or indirect advantages to citizens based on racial and national characteristics, as well as any promotion of racial or national exclusivity, hatred, or disdain.

Open attempts at granting privileges or imposing restrictions based on racial or national characteristics or the preaching of racial superiority are practically impossible in our country. They are impossible not only because they are banned by the law but for psychological reasons. However, unfortunately, insults of national dignity still occasionally occur. They trigger a kind of chain reaction: if you have referred to my nation disrespectfully I could do the same concerning yours. I believe that in Article 36 of the draft of the new constitution it would be correct to add after the word "disregard" the words "and insult of national dignity." I believe that Article 64 as well should be drafted somewhat differently. The article stipulates that every citizen of the Soviet Union has the duty to respect the national dignity of the other citizens of our country. However, we respect the national dignity of citizens not only of our country, but of other countries as well. Therefore, it would be accurate to state that "It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to respect the national dignity of the peoples of all races and nationalities." It may be better to place these words at the end of the article which would read as follows:

"Article 64. It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to strengthen the friendship among nations and nationalities in the Soviet multinational state and to respect the national dignity of the people of all races and nationalities."

The elimination of the exploitation of man by man undermined the roots of racial and national hatred in our country. However, we have not surmounted as yet vestiges of bourgeois nationalism in the minds and behavior of the people. We must remember that they may still manifest themselves.

The party frequently reminds us of the struggle against vestiges of bourgeois nationalism and it seems to me that in Article 65, discussing the duty of the citizens to respect the rights and legitimate interests of other individuals we should add to the words "antisocial actions" the words "and vestiges of bourgeois nationalism." Even though rare, they are still encountered and, with the help of the constitution, it would be proper to mobilize the people to engage in an even more decisive struggle against them.

There is yet another problem. The draft of the constitution is discussed not only by those who are published in the press or speak on the radio and at conferences and aktivs. The constitution is discussed around the television set, within the family, where workers, kolkhoz members, and secondary and university students share their views. Many of them believe that they have not reached the status of writing to the newspaper. However, in their verbal debates they argue quite heatedly the articles of the draft even though, occasionally, not very competently. It is our duty to pay the greatest possible attention to our verbal propaganda and to see the way propagandists, agitators, and political informants work in the course of the discussion of the draft. We must help them and equip them with the necessary knowledge on such matters.

We understand perfectly that the task of discussing the new constitution does not end with its adoption. Following its enactment it will have to be given a material strength. We shall have to be concerned with its execution and struggle for its strict observance. I believe that we must begin to prepare ourselves for this as of the present.

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CSO: 1802

## SOCIALISM AND SCIENCE ARE INDIVISIBLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 73-74

[Article by V. Maslennikov, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] Like all Soviet people, the scientific workers undertook the most attentive and serious study of the draft of the fundamental law as this document of tremendous theoretical power and outstanding worldwide significance deserves. The draft directly applies to us both as citizens of the country of the Great October Revolution, whose achievements it reflects, and as specialists professionally employed in the production of scientific knowledge.

The tremendous army of scientific associates, workers, and employees in the realm of science and scientific services is very grateful for the constant attention, trust, and high rating of their labor on the part of the party and the state. The draft of the constitution, the decisions of the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, emphasizing the unparalleled growth of the role of science in the building of communism, inspire and mandate us to work with an even greater creative upsurge.

The new ideas and concepts contained in these outstanding documents unanimously approved by the whole people face the scientists in the various scientific fields and directions with new tasks.

The worldwide history of science proves that never before and nowhere has it been given such powerful support on the part of society or had such favorable conditions for development as have been established in our country thanks to the gains of the October Revolution. This is natural, for the socialist society is more interested in the profound knowledge of the objective laws of reality and in including social and natural and technical scientific knowledge in the constructive toil of the broad working masses, developing their capabilities and talents, than any other society.

"No dark force will resist the alliance of representatives of science, the proletariat, and technology" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 189). This Leninist prediction is profoundly meaningful. The building of communism and scientific progress are indivisible. Both processes, growing and reciprocally strengthening each other, merge within a single main stream of human development. This important feature of our society should be more emphatically reflected in the preamble to the draft of the constitution. I suggest that the second paragraph of the preamble begin with the following words: "Implementing the scientific ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet system has accomplished most profound socioeconomic changes..." (followed by the text of the draft), concluding this paragraph as follows: "For the first time in the history of mankind a socialist society was created--a social system whose administration and development are based on a scientific foundation."

In recent years the scientific and technical revolution has become an essential new aspect in the life of our society. The radical changes in the development of production forces occurring under the influence of scientific discoveries enable us considerably to accelerate the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism. Under the conditions of our society the scientific and technical revolution has become a project of the whole people, acquiring the direction most consistent with human requirements.

At the stage of the mature socialist society and under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the unbreakable tie between science and socialism is becoming even stronger. The organic combination of the achievements of that revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system is one of the main sources for the growth of our power. That is why it was proclaimed in the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses a primary task in the socioeconomic field. In this connection I would deem it expedient to formulate the first part of Article 15 as follows: "The economy of the USSR represents a single national economic complex covering all links of social production, distribution, exchange, and consumption, developing on the basis of combining the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system."

The role of science in the developed socialist society is particularly defined in Article 26 and, largely, in Article 47 which sum up the experience of the government's policy in the growth and utilization of the scientific and technical potential of the USSR. This is an experience of crisis-free and planned development of science and technology oriented toward active cooperation in the solution of the main problems of the Soviet state. The developed socialist society presumes the planning of scientific activities themselves, the dynamic and proportional development of scientific research, the balanced allocation of resources, and the increased interconnection among sectors, phases, and trends of the natural, technical, and social sciences, and the utilization of their results in the building of communism. Here the centralized management of scientific activities is combined with its sensible decentralization, initiative, and free scientific creativity.

The systematic training of scientific cadres--the main component of the scientific potential--is of prime significance from the viewpoint of the future of science. This has been codified in Article 26. The preliminary stage of this training is supported by an integrated educational system (Articles 25 and 45). The necessary professional qualificational structure of scientific cadres is developed at subsequent stages. However, steady scientific progress requires not only properly trained scientific cadres but availability of necessary research facilities. As a rule, high productivity and quality work are achieved under present conditions by scientists and designers above all through high availability of the latest instruments, systems, means of automation of experiments, information services, necessary materials, and so on.

Further on, Article 26 justifiably draws attention to the importance of applying the results of scientific research in the national economy and other realms of life. The application process is the joint work of scientists and production workers. It must be minimal in time and maximal in scale. It must be extended to enterprises and sectors where the mastering of one or another innovation would be socially useful. Here we must bear in mind that the concept of national economy is rather broad, including both production and nonproduction areas of human activities, and that not only technological innovations but organizational-managerial, and others must be applied. However, taking into consideration the importance of the production mastering of scientific results, in our view, it would be expedient to emphasize this aspect in the text of the article.

In the light of these considerations I submit the following draft for Article 26: "In accordance with the needs of society and of the internal laws governing scientific progress the state insures the planned and effective development of science, including the training of scientific cadres and material and technical equipment for scientific work. It organizes the accelerated and extensive application of the results of scientific research in production and other realms of life."

Our final remark pertains to Article 30. Taking into consideration the fact that the international socialist division of labor is a category broader than economic integration, and that cooperation in the realms of science and technology is becoming an ever-more important and a starting point of the sum total of integration measures, it should be noted in this article also that the Soviet Union actively participates in the international socialist division of labor and in economic and scientific and technical integration.

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## IN THE INTEREST OF PRESENT AND FUTURE CULTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 75-77

[Article by G. Belyayeva-Lorentz, director of the Museum of Ancient Russian Art imeni Andrey Rublev]

[Text] The birth of the new fundamental law is an outstanding event in the life of our country. Its draft is a vivid manifestation of the concern of the CPSU for all aspects of the future development of the homeland. The discussion of the draft proves the high spiritual maturity of the broad masses of Soviet people who are efficiently, meaningfully, and principle-mindedly weighing each article and provision in an effort to formulate a perfect system of social organization unparalleled in the history of mankind.

The outstanding gains of socialism include the concern of the state for the preservation and multiplication of the spiritual values of society and their extensive use for upgrading the cultural standard of the people. This has been clearly codified in Article 27 of the draft of the USSR Constitution. The organization of museum work in our country could serve as an example taken from reality.

The Soviet museum system is an important sector of socialist culture. These specific institutions collect and exhibit works of art, and items pertaining to history, way of life, industry, agriculture, human activities, and others. In the USSR they are not limited to preservation and study but are also a means for the dissemination of a variety of knowledge among the broad masses and for molding a communist outlook.

In the past few years the network of museums in the country, not only governmental but people's, has been growing and strengthening rapidly. Incidentally, the people's museums are a characteristic indicator of the patriotism of the Soviet people and of their respect for their own history and their national pride, organically linked with internationalism, and spirituality based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Today the Soviet Union has over 1,300 museums and museum branches. The broadening of their stocks and the establishment of new centers concentrating significant monuments of domestic culture will be unquestionably continued. At the same time, as the general educational level of the population and the social activeness of the Soviet people grow universal interest in museum expositions and exhibits is increasing. Today there is even talk of a "museum explosion" bearing in mind the avalanche-like increase in the number of visitors. Let us add to this the increased flow of foreign guests, entirely understandable considering the increased attention paid by the entire world to a country with a social and state system of a qualitatively new type.

Scientific and organizational work in the museums is being perfected. Their material and technical base is improving and they are financed better. The nationwide movement for the protection of spiritual values offers great support. Societies for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments were established slightly over 10 years ago in all Soviet republics. Today they have several tens of millions of members (12.5 million in the Russian Federation alone). Obviously, this movement will gain even greater scope in the future. Its party and governmental support was clearly manifested in the recently enacted "Law on the Protection and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments."

Concern for the relics of the fatherland is manifested also in the establishment of special scientific institutes and restoration workshops whose activities are focused exclusively on the preservation of monuments. Whereas in 1965 there were 22 such workshops, 10 years later their number reached 72. The state spares no funds for this item of its cultural construction budget. The cost of a most complex restoration of palaces-museums in Leningrad suburbs alone exceeded 300 million rubles in the postwar period.

The registration of monuments placed under governmental protection is continuing. For example, whereas in 1974 350 were recorded, there were 6,500 in 1976.

The 25th CPSU Congress called for upgrading further the role of socialist culture and art in the ideological-political, moral and aesthetic education of the working people. This instruction is being implemented by each museum through its available ways and means.

Taking all this into consideration, and noting the specific nature and importance of this realm of culture in the life of the developed socialist society, we believe that it would be more accurate to make a separate article of the pertinent part in Article 67 of the draft of the USSR Constitution speaking of the protection of nature, to read as follows:

"Concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values as the people's property is the patriotic duty of all USSR citizens. Individuals damaging such monuments and cultural values shall be punished in accordance with the law."

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Quite understandably, the constitution formulates only the main and essential stipulations which are further concretized in proper legislative acts, public norms, and others. The implementation of the fundamental law of the country will be accomplished through the conscientious daily activities of the Soviet people. In this connection there are problems which should be discussed even though briefly.

To begin with, we, museum workers, are quite acutely aware of the insufficient training in the humanities of the student youth, particularly the absence, with rare exceptions, of aesthetic literacy, and the inability to appreciate properly what is truly beautiful or cases in which any interest displayed turns out to be simply related to fashion with a superficial perception of certain external attributes of works of art. We believe that the schools are to be blamed for this as they display a certain leaning toward natural sciences and practical skills, paying insufficient attention to the humanities. Yet, it is precisely a standard in the humanities that nourishes the social consciousness of the citizen.

Secondly, the propaganda of historical monuments and other cultural values is insufficient, even though the rich technical possibilities offered by our society enable us to achieve this quite effectively, bearing in mind not only printing facilities but the various movie and camera facilities (including holography), video and audio recordings, electronic systems for information storage and retrieval, and others. There is a tangible "hunger" in our country for highly artistic albums, travel guides, booklets, advertising editions, catalogs, sets of postcards on specific topics, and others. Yet, all of them, with properly organized work, represent an important channel for propaganda and agitation and for strengthening the prestige of Soviet culture. I do not even mention the high profitability of such output: profits from such activities would facilitate material and technical supplying of museums, all activities for the preservation of monuments, and the multiplication of cultural resources. It would be pertinent here to raise the question of following the example of other countries by creating a special journal in which, through lively creative discussions, we would develop and strengthen the socialist concept of cultural construction (including museums), engage in continuous exchange of experience, sum up achievements, review works by colleagues, disseminate and popularize the achievements of culture and the arts, and so on. It would provide methodological advice and methodical elaborations for amateurs operating people's museums whose significance in the overall cultural front, as we may see, is growing.

Thirdly, museum cadres must be strengthened. The museums are in fact research centers, for resolving the problem of the preservation and registration of the museum stocks, their description, propaganda work, restoration of objects, and the preparation of exhibits involve scientific research and demand of the museum workers truly scientific qualities. Presently the USSR Ministry of Culture has properly organized the retraining of museum workers at skill-upgrading courses. However, this could be considered merely as a beginning. It would be desirable to increase the training of highly skilled

museum cadres through postgraduate studies. The creation of topic expositions and exhibits should be considered as published original works, for essentially they are fully consistent with printed scientific works even though they are published in a single copy and are impermanent. The research work of makers of exhibits should be comprehensively encouraged. Such moral encouragement would contribute to the assertion of the museum worker in the scientific world. Finally, the "grading" of museum workers--candidates and doctors of sciences--should be given a material incentive similar to that given by all scientific and pedagogical institutions. The absence of such incentive considerably reduces the availability of museum personnel. Upgrading the qualitative level of cadres would be a guarantee for highly effective overall work.

The solution of such problems and the implementation of other suggestions aimed at improving the system of cultural construction in our country would contribute to the practical implementation of the outstanding principles of the new fundamental law of the USSR.

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## PROLOGUE TO THE MAIN EVENT OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 78-90

[Article by A. Sovokin, doctor of historical sciences, on the 60th anniversary of the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party]

[Text] The sixth congress of the RSDWP(b) opened its proceedings in Petrograd's proletarian Vyborgskiy Rayon on 26 July (8 August) 1917 under the "hooting of the triumphant reaction," after which it was forced to elect the party's Central Committee ahead of schedule and move to Narvskiy Rayon where it went underground. However, even with the hanging threat of dispersal and detention of delegates for being in touch with V. I. Lenin who was hiding in clandestinity, the congress thoroughly discussed all the candidacies for Central Committee membership, keeping secret the names of the members and candidate members it elected. The election results were entered only in Ya. M. Sverdlov's notebook, in code.

The boundless loyalty and support of the Petersburg proletariat made possible the organized holding of the congress and the hiding of over 260 delegates from the searches conducted by the bourgeois provisional government. Secretly deployed Red Guard posts mounted night and day guard over surrounding streets. They were ready at all times to warn the congress participants of danger and to protect them.

Tempered in class battles, the congress delegates did not waver in the face of counterrevolutionary pressure. Despite the exceptional circumstances and the forced curtailing of the proceedings, at their plenary and sectional sessions the congress delegates were able to discuss the substance of all matters on the agenda. The delegates heard the Central Committee's political, organizational, and financial reports, considered reports on current aspects--the war and international and the political and economic situations, and reports from local areas. They passed resolutions on all basic problems of forthcoming party activities.

Lenin did not attend two of the six pre-October party congresses: the first, when tsarist authorities exiled him to distant Siberia, and the sixth, when the bourgeois provisional government, overthrowing the autocracy of democratic Russia, forced him to go underground. The victory of the counterrevolution in July, as the former head of that government stated then, represented a "deep breach" of Lenin's front.

The slanderous campaign against the leader of the proletariat was launched by the bourgeoisie and its accomplices from the moment of Lenin's return to Russia. Now, following the abolishment of twin power, it assumed a particularly virulent nature. The bourgeoisie "flooded its class enemies, the Bolsheviks, with oceans of stink and slander, displaying unparalleled persistence in this most disgusting and dirty slander of political opponents. This was, if one may say so, an 'ideological training,' and a 'breach on the front of the class struggle'" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 34, p 20).

Slanderous accusations of "espionage," "conspiracy," and "moral incitement" to mutiny were launched against Lenin. With the approval of the Eser-Menshevik leadership, then heading the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, the provisional government passed a decree on the detention and prosecution of the participants in the peaceful demonstration of 3-4 July 1917, charging them with "betrayal of the homeland and of the revolution."

It was a question, above all, of Lenin's detention and reprisals against him. The "republican" bourgeoisie resorted to the ugliest methods in the persecution of Bolsheviks, trying to defame the proletarian revolutionaries and internationalists it hated with lies, all kind of insinuations, calumnies, and other unworthy methods. The reactionary forces used at all times slander in order to protect their class interests; this is common practice to exploiters and oppressors.

At the time that the slanderous campaign against Lenin was raging the Yekaterinburg RSDWP(b) city conference elected him its delegate to the congress. The newspaper URAL'SKAYA PRAVDA, organ of the Ural'skaya Oblast and Yekaterinburg party committees wrote, in this connection, that Comrade Lenin was unanimously offered the first place among the three delegates of the Yekaterinburg organization. Through their demonstrative choice the Yekaterinburg workers emphasized that they "expressed their complete solidarity with Comrade Lenin's political line and that they decisively object to the dirty campaign against him launched by the bourgeoisie, the provisional government, and the parties of the conciliationist majority" (URAL'SKAYA PRAVDA, No 17, 28 Jul 1917).

At its very first session the party congress unanimously appointed Lenin its honorary chairmen, sent its greeting to him and protested the base slander on the part of the bourgeoisie (see "Shestoy S"yezd RSDRP(b). Protokoly"

[Sixth Congress of the RSDWP(b). Proceedings], Moscow, 1958, pp 2,5). In the course of the preparations for the congress and during it greetings were addressed to Vladimir Il'ich by the party organizations, workers, and soldiers of Petrograd, Moscow, Yekaterinburg, Vyborg, Perm, Kol'chugin, and other cities and garrisons in the country.

In connection with the discussion of the political report submitted by the RSDWP(b) Central Committee, the congress delegates considered in particular the question of Lenin's court appearance. The desire to expose the bourgeois slander and protect the leader from attempts by the counterrevolution ran through all their speeches. In a unanimous resolution the congress proclaimed its firm objection to the scandalous persecution of Lenin and the other Bolsheviks, pointing out that under the existing "conditions absolutely no guarantees exist not only for an impartial trial but even for securing the basic safety of the defendants..." ("Shestoy S"yezd RSDRP(b). Protokoly," p 270). The congress decision was accepted with satisfaction by the entire party and by all conscientious workers, soldiers, and peasants. The congress was a model of the party's principled attitude toward police-procuracy persecution of revolutionaries in an atmosphere of raging persecution on the part of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie. Lenin was unanimously elected member of the RSDWP(b) Central Committee and nominated as candidate for the constituent assembly.

In the resolutions passed at the sixth congress and the "Comrade N. Lenin's Answer," published during the congress, the Bolshevik Party countered the base campaign launched by the counterrevolution, citing the true facts of the history of the revolution and the biography of its leader, exposing the mercenary slanderers, and the true intentions of the organizers of dirty anti-Bolshevik insinuations.

The proletariat and its political vanguard have never resorted to slander, nor will they ever. They use truth. As to the bourgeoisie, in the final account its slanderous campaigns failed to yield expected results. Thus, as Lenin said, in 1917 "The bourgeois erred and exaggerated somewhat, believing that they would entrap the Bolsheviks in the nets of lies and slanders; they overdid their attacks to such an extent that they gave us free publicity and made even the most backward workers to think that 'If the capitalists are insulting the Bolsheviks so much it means that these Bolsheviks know how to fight the capitalists!'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 38, p 46).

After the victory of the October Revolution imperialists from many countries hurled hundreds and thousands of accusations at their communist compatriots, charging them with operating with Russian money and, therefore, with defending the interests of Soviet Russia. Having no honest weapons, the idealogues of the old world did not shy at any means, believing that all are good in fighting political opponents.

The purpose of the current hysterical devil's sabbath launched on the subject of "restriction of civil rights" in the USSR and the other socialist countries is to slander and discredit the ideas of socialism and hinder the activities

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of communist and workers' parties in capitalist countries. As V. Tikhomirov, turner at the Moscow Electrical Engineering Plant imeni Vladimar Il'ich, said, "The current Western masters of slander are using the old long-tested method. They did not invent it. If a lie is to be believed it must be monstrous or, differently put, the more monstrous the lie the sooner it will be believed."

The defenders of the obsolete system always proceed from the rule that something will remain from a slander. However, in their hasty estimates they forget that, as Lenin wrote in July 1917, "Disgusting slander of political opponents will help the proletariat realize sooner where the counterrevolution is and swipe it off for the sake of freedom, peace, bread for the hungry, and land for the peasants" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 32).

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Immediately following his arrival in Russia, V. I. Lenin set as the primary tasks of the Bolsheviks the urgent convention of a party congress and the amendment of the party program. Adopting Lenin's motions, the seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDWP(b) instructed the Central Committee to formulate on the basis of Lenin's recommendation "within 2 months the draft of a party program to be submitted for approval by the party congress" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"yezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], Vol 1, p 456).

Less than a month following the conference, on the instruction of the Central Committee Lenin prepared for publication "Materials for the Revision of the Party Program." In the first half of June 1917 the materials were published by the Priboy publishing house as a separate pamphlet and distributed among the party organizations. On behalf of the RSDWP(b) Central Committee Lenin asked all party members and sympathizers to promote the broadest possible distribution of the "Materials...," to acquaint with it all party members and to send "all and any remarks and plans." The "Materials..." were reprinted in Kronstadt and Khar'kov, and discussed in many cities throughout the country. Lenin's program stipulations on preparing the working class and its allies for a socialist revolution, and on the political, economic and social reorganization of society became the weapon of the Bolshevik Party in its struggle for the founding of a Soviet republic. "Therefore," Lenin wrote in the draft of the new program, "by virtue of objective conditions the all-round direct preparations of the proletariat for the seizure of political power for the sake of implementing the economic and political measures constituting a socialist revolution must be placed on the agenda of our epoch" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 32, p 151).

Formulating these tasks Lenin proceeded from his theory of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism and the conclusion that the era of a proletarian and socialist revolution had begun (Ibid., p 140). He made the seizure of political power by the proletariat directly dependent on the close

fraternal alliance and direct unity of revolutionary action with the working class of the developed countries, and as being impossible without waging a most decisive fight against the social chauvinists and the dissidents within the workers' movement. The task formulated by Lenin in his April theses of creating a Third International was being resolved in practice in the course of the class battles in Russia and the Western European countries.

Lenin's draft program provided answers to basic problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It developed the basic demands of the party on the national, agrarian, and other important revolutionary problems.

Even though by virtue of the circumstances we noted the sixth congress was unable to discuss the draft party program (the program section held only an exchange of views), Lenin's program ideas became the guiding thoughts in the course of the debates and the drafting of resolutions on the main aspects of all problems discussed at the congress. Recalling this, B. Shumyatskiy, who reported on elections to the constituent assembly, wrote the following in 1924: The report promoted "Il'ich's thought that the question of our participation in the constituent assembly should not be formulated as a principle but only from the practical viewpoint of how to make such participation most successful for the cause of the revolution" (Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archives, folio 124, list 1, file 2,196, sheet 12). We must bear in mind that the draft of the new program submitted by Lenin stipulated that the party of the proletariat cannot be limited to a bourgeois-parliamentary republic but will fight for a more democratic proletarian-peasant republic, i.e., for a Soviet republic. In principle the question of the constituent assembly had been already resolved and the demand for its convention had already been formulated in the Bolshevik platform. At the same time, however, the party could not ignore the level of conscientiousness and preparedness of the masses and their experience. Even though at the time of the revolution the broad masses in Russia were rarely well prepared for the adoption of the Soviet system, "nevertheless the Bolsheviks did not boycott the constituent assembly but took part in the elections before and after the seizure of political power by the proletariat...These elections yielded exceptionally valuable (and, for the proletariat, highly useful) political results..." (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sобр. Soch.," Vol 41, p 43).

We cited the testimony of the reporter on the subject of the constituent assembly only to illustrate the idea that even though Vladimir Il'ich did not personally attend the congress his ideas were the basis for the delegates' reports and speeches.

Located in Razliv, 34 km outside Petrograd, V. I. Lenin did everything possible to participate directly in the drafting of the resolutions. Delegate A. Shotman, who visited Lenin almost daily, recalled that Vladimir Il'ich was "totally involved in the preparations and, subsequently, the guidance of the sixth party congress" (A. V. Shotman, "Lenin Nakanune Oktyabrya" [Lenin on the Eve of October], Leningrad, 1925, p 113). Even though Lenin personally was unable to address the congress with the Central

Committee's political report, and with reports on the current situation and on revising the party program, which he had thoroughly prepared, he gave all possible aid to the speakers and the congress presidium, submitting his draft resolutions and remarks on documents submitted to him. Subsequently, B. Shumyatskiy wrote that "...The hand of the leader was felt everywhere and in everything. Theses, drafts, resolutions, and directives came from Il'ich who lived at that time in a Sestroretsk hut" (PRAVDA, No 253, 4 Nov 1927). Yem. Yaroslavskiy accurately emphasized that it would be quite arbitrary to state that the congress took place without Lenin who "guided the congress, and participated in its works. The most important documents were drafted with Lenin's participation and knowledge" (Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archives, folio 89, list 8, file 255, sheet 30). In 1932 these statements were unanimously confirmed at a meeting of all Bolsheviks with the statement that "Whenever Vladimir Il'ich was forced to hide himself and was unable to attend a congress" "he guided the congress and the party's life while in clandestinity" (Institute of Marxism-Leninism Central Party Archives, folio 89, list 5, file 35, sheet 1).

Immediately after the July days, in clandestinity Lenin elaborated the party's new tactic to be considered by the congress. "My thoughts," he recalled in the autumn of 1917, "turned around the political significance of the event, weighing its role in the general course of events, determining the situation which led to such a historical zigzag and the situation it would create, and the way we should change our slogans and our party apparatus in order to adapt it to the changed situation" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 322).

Ascribing great importance to the study of the lessons of the revolution by every conscientious worker, soldier, and peasant, immediately after publishing "Three Crises," Lenin proved the historical link of their stages and the political, i.e., the class significance of the July events. In his subsequent works such as "The Political Situation (Four Theses)," "On Slogans," "Thankfulness to Prince G. Ye. L'vov," "Answer," "On Constitutional Illusions," "The Beginning of Bonapartism," and "Lessons from the Revolution," he comprehensively reviewed the entire course of the revolutionary process and earmarked the party's tactic at its new stage. These works depict the way the various classes and parties struggled for their objectives at the different stages of the revolution and in individual political situations, their strength, their means of action, and the conclusions which should be drawn from this by the Bolshevik Party and the toiling masses. As the great strategist of the revolution, Lenin sensitively detected changes in the deployment of political forces and in the moods of the masses. He saw and earmarked the most accurate and the shortest way to the objective.

Subsequently, congress delegate I. Flerovskiy noted: "Vladimir Il'ich's absence was felt sharply...Acutally, we, delegates from Kronstadt, knew that at that congress as well Lenin's word would be heard. On the eve of my departure from Kronstadt I read the galley of Lenin's article sent to the Kronstadt committee for printing. It was to be presented at the congress. It was a small pamphlet modestly entitled "On Slogans." However, its

significance to the party and the further course of the revolution was tremendous" ("Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsia. Sbornik Vospominaniy" [The Great October Socialist Revolution. Collection of Memoirs], Moscow, 1957, p 103).

The delegates to the congress clearly realized the importance of Lenin's activities to the revolution and the party. During the debates A. Shlikhter said: "Comrade Lenin is not with us at this congress and there is no hope that everything would be covered exhaustively. Being so tied may be bad but it is a fact...Even underground, Lenin must give his instructions" (Shestoy S"yezd RSDRP(b). Protokoly," p 35). The party organizations of the capital expressed their profound regret on the subject of Lenin's absence. In their greetings to the congress the bolsheviks of the Petrograd pipes plant, like many other organizations, expressed their firm belief that Lenin's "ideas and thoughts will be the basis for the entire work of the congress, particularly on the subject of the most vital and important problems of our time" (Ibid., p 121).

Since the congress took place initially under semiclandestine and, subsequently, under clandestine conditions, and since the party's leader had gone deeply underground the secrecy of contacts with him was strict. In particular, Vladimir Il'ich sent under most secret conditions his "theses (to the congress) on the political situation" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 443). This was mentioned in August 1917 by P. Dzhaparidze at the Baku conference, by Ya. Rovinskiy, in March 1919, at the Ryazanskaya Guberniya congress of the RKP(b), and, in 1923, by N. Podvoyskiy and other congress delegates, while congress delegate A. Shotman, Lenin's contact, confirmed that the resolutions written by Il'ich were put to a vote and adopted.

"Lenin's analyses of the moment," I. Flerovskiy wrote, "were of decisive importance to the congress. It was the basis of Stalin's report and of most delegate speeches. The resolution on the report and, subsequently, the manifesto drafted by the Central Committee on the instruction of the congress reflected Lenin's views and Lenin's inspiring and guiding influence over the congress" ("Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsia. Sbornik Vospominaniy," p 106).

S. Kavtaradze recalls that both J. V. Stalin's report and the congress's resolution reflected the ideas of Vladimir Il'ich, as mentioned by Stalin himself. "All of us, delegates, knew perfectly that the congress was in fact headed by Vladimir Il'ich," Kavtaradze added. "He led and guided our entire work. No other way was possible. At a time when the fate of the revolution was being decided who other than he could master the lever and turn the wheel of history? No one else but he" (VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 7, 1967, p 47).

The report on the political situation clearly formulated the ways for the development of the revolution, and the ratio among class forces which had developed as a result of the July political crisis. Following the temporary victory of the counterrevolution, as a result of which it became organized

and strengthened, it was senseless to think that the soviets would be able to seize the power peacefully. "The peaceful period of the revolution has ended and a nonpeaceful period has come," the speaker said, "a period of clashes and explosions..." (Shestoj S"yezd RSDRP(b). Protokoly," p 114). At the same time, clarifying Lenin's position on the attitude of the Bolshevik Party toward the soviets, the speaker emphasized that "The fact that we are withdrawing the previous slogan concerning soviet power does not mean that we oppose the soviets. On the contrary, one could and should work within the soviets and even within the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, the secret counterrevolutionary organ. Even though the soviets are now only organs used for the unification of the masses, we are always with the masses and we shall not withdraw from the soviets unless we are expelled from them. We shall remain within the factory-plant committees and the municipalities, even though they do not hold the power. Remaining within the soviets, however, we shall continue to expose the tactics of the socialists-revolutionaries and the Mensheviks" (Ibid, p 144).

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The study of the class and political changes provided by Lenin and the party's Central Committee following the July events was confirmed and refined at the sixth congress in accordance with data provided by local delegates. The collective thinking of the party, unquestionably represented by the congress, made it possible to understand more profoundly the new political situation which had developed following the elimination of twin power and the formation of a government initiating a Bonapartist movement. Reports from the local areas clearly indicated that the counterrevolution had been unable to drive the party underground, put an end to workers' and soldiers' organizations, scare the working class with repressions, and disorganize the ranks of revolutionary fighters with an infamous campaign of slander.

The profound analysis of the new political circumstances was one of the important lessons remaining from the congress. No single step could be taken in defining the possibilities for further struggle without a detailed Marxist-Leninist consideration of the existing situation. In accordance with Lenin's concepts the development of the revolution was comprehensively considered in the congress resolutions on the basis of revolutionary positions and a strict dialectical-materialistic basis, starting with the overthrow of autocracy. The party's tactic at the new stage of the revolution was defined.

By virtue of the economic and political organization of the capitalist class the February revolution brought to power the bourgeoisie joined by the landlords. However, considering the total political freedom and the arming of the masses, this power could be retained only with the support of the petty bourgeois Menshevik and Eser parties heading the soviets of workers and soldiers deputies. The soviets had such strength and enjoyed such support by the people that, as Lenin said, they "could (and should have) seized the power without the least possible opposition on the part of anyone" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 63). Only in such a case would the revolution have

become truly popular and democratic, belonging to the toiling masses who wanted to put an end to the imperialist war and to restrain the pillaging of landlords and capitalists who had led the country to destruction and hunger and undertake the decisive and firm pursuit of a policy of peace and radical social change.

The conciliationist attitude of the petit bourgeois parties helped the bourgeoisie to found and support counterrevolutionary organizations and to gather strength for the elimination of the revolution. Since March, step by step, Esers and Mensheviks supported the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie playing, as Lenin said, "the role of idiots fed rich words, premises, and 'luncheons'" (*Ibid.*, pp 61-62). Instead of turning the soviets into fully empowered organs, the Mensheviks and Esers weakened them, turning them into talking shops ignored by the bourgeoisie. While "socialist" ministers and their voluntary assistants--Mensheviks and Esers--were engaged in the "seemly" matter of persuading exploiters and working people, impatience, discontent, and bitterness at the cost of living, the destruction, and the dragging on of the war grew unrestrainedly within the masses. This was manifested in the aggravation of the class struggle clearly manifested by the April, June, and July political crises.

The offensive which the bourgeoisie launched on the front, signifying the active continuation of the imperialist war in the interest of the capitalists, ignoring the desires of the tremendous majority of the working people, played a particular role in the June-July events. It stopped the fluctuation of the petite bourgeoisie strata which took the side of the proletariat. Lenin related the offensive on the front with a tremendous intensification of chauvinistic feelings among the population, to a transition of a military and, consequently, governmental power into the hands of the Bonapartists, a conversion to open coercion of the masses and the persecution of the internationalists. Supporting the offensive, Esers and Mensheviks tied themselves to the imperialist cart.

Naturally, the energizing of the predatory war increased even faster the indignation of the masses at the imperialist policy pursued by the bourgeoisie. On 3-4 July the aggravated class struggle heated up by the bourgeoisie came close to civil war. The Bolshevik Party alone fulfilled its revolutionary duty by remaining with the masses, giving a peaceful nature to their spontaneous protest. Drawn into agreement with the bourgeoisie, "like slaves of the bourgeoisie chained by the master, Esers and Mensheviks agreed to all: to bringing reactionary troops into Petersburg, the restoration of the death penalty, the disarming of workers and revolutionary forces, arrests, persecutions, and illegal closing down of newspapers" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 67).

The comprehensive assessment of the positions of classes and parties in the twin rule period allowed Lenin and, after him, the congress to provide an exhaustive characterization of the July political crisis which marked a sharp turn in the fate of the revolution. Analyzing the developed situation,

Vladimir Il'ich pointed out that the power had fallen to a decisive extent into the hands of the counterrevolution, and that the first segment of the revolution had failed.

Having had the full possibility to establish the power of the soviets painlessly and with the support of the people in the preceding period, the Mensheviks and Esers made impossible the peaceful solution of the basic problem of the revolution and, in fact, betrayed it. "Today the peaceful development of the revolution in Russia is no longer possible," Lenin concluded, "and history poses the question as follows: either total victory of the counterrevolution or a new revolution" (Ibid, p 29). Having betrayed the revolution, Mensheviks and Esers converted themselves and the soviets they headed into the fig leaf of the counterrevolution, diverting the attention of the people from its preparation to the dispersal of the soviets and the elimination of all democratic gains. The soviets began to decompose while still alive.

Under the new conditions the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" supported by the Bolshevik Party conflicted with the real circumstances. Lenin was the first to understand this and to raise the question of its abandonment. He did not link in the least the temporary rejection of the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" with a rejection of the demand for a Soviet republic as formulated in the April theses. It was a question not of a Soviet republic but of the Mensheviks and Esers which had then assumed supremacy in the soviets and were trying to structure their activities in a bourgeois parliamentarian manner. "The soviets," Lenin wrote, "could and should appear in this new revolution. However, there would not be the present soviets as organs for conciliation with the bourgeoisie but organs of the revolutionary struggle against it...It is not a question of soviets in general but of the struggle against a specific counterrevolution and of the treason of specific soviets" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 34, pp 16-17).

Looking ahead, the leader foresaw the content of the new cycle of class and party struggle which would include the participation of the soviets as well, renovated in its fire, tempered, trained, re-created in the course of its entire development; he categorically opposed the replacement of specific truths with very general considerations, considering this one of the main and most dangerous sins of the revolution. Important to the definition of the new slogan was not the previous condition of the soviets in the twin power period or their future, but their present--the shameful complicity of their Eser-Menshevik leadership with the counterrevolution. The rejection of the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets!" struck a most sensitive blow at the Mensheviks and Esers who had emasculated the soviets and defamed them. Rejecting this slogan, the congress also demanded of the party members energetically to defend the gained freedoms and to protect all mass organizations from counterrevolutionary attempts, above all, the soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasant deputies, to preserve with all their forces and to strengthen the positions gained by the international wing within these organs, to fight energetically for acquiring an influence within them, rallying around them all elements supporting the viewpoint of systematic struggle against the counterrevolution (see KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh...," Vol 1, p 488).

The profound scientific study of the entire course of development of the revolution and of the July political crisis brought Lenin to the conclusion that a new socialist revolution could be accomplished in Russia by the proletariat allied with the poorest peasantry through armed force only, for which the masses had to be prepared adamantly and patiently. Lenin considered this the main task of the Bolshevik Party. "No constitutional and republican illusions, no more illusions of a peaceful way, no scattered actions, no response now to the provocations of black hundreds or cossacks," he appealed. "Let us rally our forces, reorganize them and firmly prepare for armed uprising providing that a course of the crisis would enable us to launch it on a truly mass, nationwide scale" ("Poln. Sbr. Soch.," Vol 34, p 5). According to Lenin the purpose of the uprising was to be the total elimination of the dictatorship of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the proletariat, with the support of the poorest peasantry, for the implementation of the Bolshevik Party program.

The congress proceeded on the basis of these Leninist concepts. Calling for the total elimination of the dictatorship of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie, it indicated that this task could be accomplished by the revolutionary proletariat supported by the poorest peasantry, under the conditions of a new revolutionary upsurge, when the majority of the people would realize the entire disaster of an agreement with the bourgeoisie.

Considering the question of the peaceful and armed means of struggle, the congress thus raised the question of the forms of the revolution--one of the most important problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of the revolutionary movement. The founders of Marxism-Leninism never predicted in advance the means of struggle which the proletariat would have to choose under specific-historical conditions in order to reach its political objectives or the form into which the dictatorship of the proletariat would develop.

The working class must master all forms or aspects of social activity with no exception. It must be ready for even the fastest and most unexpected shift from one form to another. The Marxist tactic consists of combining various means of struggle, the skillful conversion from one means to another, and the steady upgrading of the conscientiousness of the masses and of broadening their collective actions which could be both offensive and defensive yet which, together, would lead toward the ever-deeper and most decisive social conflict. The experience of the Bolshevik Party in 1917 fully confirmed this conclusion of the theory of the socialist revolution developed in Lenin's works and the documents of the sixth RSDWP(b) congress.

Under the conditions of the twin power the course of peaceful development of events and direct transfer of power to the soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasant deputies was the only possible and realistic one in the process of the growth of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. It was based, above all, on the fact that the soviets relied on the masses and had the factual power to eliminate the old and exploiting society

through the armed workers and soldiers, while the bourgeoisie had no such forces to defend its rule. Under such circumstances bourgeois opposition to soviet pressure was virtually impossible. This lasted until the Mensheviks and Esers, heading the soviets finally switched to the camp of the enemies of the revolution and the bourgeoisie put an end to the twin power in July. It became obvious that the proletariat could seize power not through the Menshevik-Eser soviets but through a decisive and, in the final account, armed struggle against the united counterrevolutionary front which factually united Cadets, Esers, and Mensheviks.

The experience of the Great October Revolution purely rejects the version of the bourgeois falsifiers according to which the Bolsheviks acknowledged exclusively the armed forms of struggle. In reality, even after the sixth congress, in the course of the struggle against the Kornilov movement, the Leninist party compromised with the parties of the petite bourgeoisie, working for the peaceful transition of power to the soviets, and it was not its fault that both Esers and Mensheviks refused this compromise and did not undertake to seize the power.

V. I. Lenin taught the party and the working class that even though an armed uprising was now inevitable, it had to be prepared, for it was not ripe yet. "The proletariat," the congress emphasized, "must not yield to the provocations of the bourgeoisie which would be very willing to challenge it to a premature battle at this moment. It must focus its entire efforts on organization and on preparing its forces for the time when a nationwide crisis and a profound mass upsurge will create favorable conditions for the conversion of the urban and rural poor to the side of the workers and against the bourgeoisie" ("KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 1, p 488).

The Leninist party approached the solution of the question of the time of the uprising with the greatest possible responsibility. Rejecting any kind of Blanquism or Putschism, it firmly opposed the seizure of power by a minority behind the back of the majority. It favored the readying of forces for the decisive offensive and skillfully restrained the masses from hasty actions, postponing the solution of the problem of the time of the uprising until the establishment of favorable conditions.

Summing up on the basis of the resolution of the sixth congress on the political situation the results of the development of the revolution from 3 July to 3 September 1917, Lenin drew the following conclusion: "...The main task of the party remains the following: to explain to the masses the fact that the situation is extremely critical, that any offensive could end in an explosion and that, therefore, an uprising which could be extremely harmful would be premature" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", Vol 34, p 147).

Noting that events were developing at a growing pace and that the offensive of the new revolution would not be long in coming, Lenin wrote: "Under 'normal' conditions of capitalist development this would have been a rather long and very difficult process. However, both the war and the economic

destruction are accelerating matters to a tremendous extent. These are 'boosters' which would make a month or even a week equal a year" (Ibid., pp 15-16). All of the congress's tactical decisions are imbued with this Leninist idea.

Earmarking the new tactic, Lenin called upon the Bolshevik Party to master the changed circumstances, adopt the type of political line and forms of organization such that no persecution "could in any event terminate its existence and its systematic addresses to the people" (Ibid., p 51).

In the post-July period which was hard on the working class and its party, on the basis of his analysis of profound social processes, Lenin drew the following prophetic conclusion: "...The proletariat will seize the power, initiate a socialist revolution, and draw to it--despite all difficulties and possible development zigzags--the proletariat of all leading countries, and will defeat both war and capitalism" (Ibid., p 52).

Based on Lenin's theory of the possibility that the socialist revolution could win in a single separate country, the congress called upon the party to prepare the forces of the Russian proletariat and its allies for the seizure of the state power with a view to the socialist reorganization of society. Let us note that, as the congress debates indicated, not all delegates shared Lenin's views on the matter or the decisions passed at the April conference on the course of the socialist revolution, or else the draft resolution of the congress on the political situation. The speeches by Angarskiy, Yurenev, Preobrazhenskiy, and Bukharin showed that they were either unable to understand the entire depth of Lenin's concepts or else disagreed with them. The congress categorically rejected Angarskiy's anti-Leninist statements. He claimed that the course to a socialist revolution was totally unfounded, that the revolution had no reserves, and the line of victory in an armed uprising "was not a Marxist tactic but the tactic of despair" ("Shesty S"yezd RSDRP(b). Protokoly," p 115). The Trotskyite motion made by Preobrazhenskiy was firmly rejected. He believed that the country could take the socialist way only "in the presence of a proletarian revolution in the West" (Ibid., p 250). In this connection, defending the Leninist positions, Stalin said: "I am against such an end of the resolution. The possibility is not excluded that the country laying the path to socialism will be precisely Russia...We must abandon the obsolete concept that Europe alone could give us the way" (Ibid., p 250).

The congress confirmed the loyalty of the Bolshevik Party to the Leninist course, emphasized the possibility for a socialist revolution in Russia, and expressed its firm belief in its future victory. The Marxist assessment of the erroneous views of some delegates was the tremendous merit of the congress since, without concealing their groundlessness and proving their possible harmful consequences, it was impossible to insure the ideological maturity of the party and its monolithic condition in the forthcoming struggle.

Guided by Lenin's instructions, the congress directed the party to undertake general political preparations for the armed uprising. Priority was given to the need for a thorough and comprehensive training of the revolutionary forces for the time when the new upsurge of the revolution would create favorable conditions for putting the question of an armed uprising on the agenda. Meanwhile the working class was to abstain from engaging in a premature combat. The moment the conditions would ripen, stated the main congress resolution "On the Political Situation," the task of the Russian proletariat and of the poorest urban and rural strata would be "to stress all forces for the seizure of the state power and for directing it, allied with the revolutionary proletariat of the progressive countries, toward peace and toward the socialist reorganization of society" ("Shestoy S"yezd RSDRP(b). Protokoly," p 257).

The decisions of the sixth RSDWP(b) congress, which determined the victorious pre-October course followed by our party, are a vivid example of the creative development of Marxism and of the application of its revolutionary strategy and tactic in specific circumstances. The congress demonstrated the party's unity rallied around Lenin, and its total approval of the tactics and slogan he had elaborated in a most important turning point in the history of the Russian and international workers' movements. This was a truly Leninist congress. It played a major role in the formulation of the organizational, ideological, and theoretical foundations of the party at the stage of immediate preparations for a socialist revolution. Its documents pointed out the only real way for the seizure of power by the working people and expressed the readiness of the Bolshevik Party to lead the masses to a decisive storming of the bourgeois system and to the struggle for the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The congress was held between two epochs: it completed the stage of the presentation of the ideas of scientific socialism to the proletarian masses and came very close to the stage of their practical implementation. The congress participants were at the cradle of the Great October Revolution and the congress decisions gave new strength to the ranks of the fighters for peace, democracy, and socialism. Focusing on breaking the imperialist chain at its weakest link--in Russia--the congress revealed the historical mission of the Russian working class which was the first to undertake the implementation of the program of the proletarian revolutionaries of all countries--the overthrow of the exploiters, the building of a new society, and the establishment of socialist production relations.

Developing the revolutionary initiative of the proletariat, and raising it to leading positions in the liberation struggle, the Bolshevik Party was the battle vanguard which headed the general battles with capitalist power in Russia. Through its example it consolidated the forces of the proletariat in all countries and contributed to the energizing of its actions.

The Bolshevik Party had the honor to launch the practical work for the creation of the Third Communist International. Lenin's works, and the documents of the April conference and the sixth RSDWP(b) congress became

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the firm theoretical base for the unification of all internationalist groups and currents of the international proletariat, and the ideological foundations for the creation of the Comintern. In the resolutions of its congress the Bolshevik Party called upon the international proletariat to intensify its struggle against war and exploitation and in support of the ripening socialist revolution in Russia. The Bolsheviks saw a prerequisite for future victory over the world of exploitation and oppression in the reciprocal support between the Russian proletariat and the workers of all countries, and in joint revolutionary actions in mother countries and colonies. "One of the outstanding features of the October Revolution," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "was proletarian internationalism which established solid ties between the workers in Russia and their class brothers throughout the world. It would be fully justified to say that the victory of the October Revolution is also the victory of the international fraternity among working people, the victory of proletarian internationalism."

The Bolshevik Party did everything possible for the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia which became the main event of the 20th century and which radically changed the course of social development. Headed by the Leninist party the Russian proletariat fulfilled its national and international duty and inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind.

Six decades have passed since the holding of the sixth Bolshevik Party congress which set the Russian proletariat the specific task of overthrowing capitalist power and establishing the power of the workers and the poorest peasants. Within that time the homeland of the October Revolution has covered a distance equalling centuries. The first developed socialist society in the world has been built in the Soviet state with the hands and the minds of the Soviet people. The people's democratic and socialist revolutions in the middle of the century, which occurred in the new political situation, confirmed the general laws of transition from capitalism to socialism and changed the social appearance of the planet. The world socialist system appeared and is successfully developing on earth. The ideas of the Great October Revolution and of the revolutions which followed it raised the huge masses of the oppressed and the poor, now following the path laid by the Russian proletariat, to the conscious making of history.

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CSO: 1802

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF YAROSLAV GALAN'S BIRTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 91-93

[Article by V. Dashkevich]

[Text] Over 25 years ago bourgeois nationalists savagely killed Yaroslav Galan, an ardent journalist, and firm fighter against fascist, reactionary Catholic and Uniate clergy, and various types of obscurantism. The heart of the patriots stopped beating but the power and topical nature of his work did not decline. Galan's books "Upyri" [Vampires], "Lyudi Bez Rodiny" [People Without Homeland], "Kainy" [Cains], "S Krestom ili s Nozhom" [With Cross or Knife], and others are still teaching the people to be vigilant and are rallying them around the ideas of internationalism and fraternity among the peoples.

At the end of July the Soviet public widely noted the 75th anniversary of the birth of Ya. A. Galan, the outstanding Ukrainian writer and communist-Leninist. Following is a reprint of the article "The Ardent Yaroslav" published in the 27 July 1977 issue of PRAVDA UKRAINY, dedicated to his memory.

When Ya. Galan was celebrating his last anniversary on earth, one of Yaroslav Aleksandrovich's friends wished him the following:

"May you live many, many more years and welcome this day every year ever happier. May you always remain as you are now!"

Galan answered:

"I would like to live to be 75. I would like to welcome that birthday with a great deal of sunshine and flowers, simple daisies, nasturtiums, and corn-flowers..."

After a while he added:

"This could hardly happen. There are reasons to believe that, as the poet said, death is signing my letter patent. What will most likely happen is the following: Someone will huddle somewhere, fire a shot, and that will be all."

Alas, he was right. He was fated to live only a few more months after that conversation. True, the bullet someone fired in L'vov's Park passed him by--death gave him a reprieve. Not for long, however: Soon afterwards death was brought by two humanoid animals in which rage and groveling blended. They showed up in Galan's home as tearful petitioners and suddenly transformed themselves into killers motivated by incredibly twisted cruelty: They continued to wound an already dead person, as though fearing the helplessness of death.

Today Galan would have been 75 years old. This was the age he wanted to reach. Had he been alive today he would have received many flowers, some of which, as he wished, would have been daisies.

He liked daisies because of a memory. While Poland was still capitalist Galan was detained and was being taken to jail across a village under guard. The peasants along the way shouted: "Come back soon to us, the people need you!" One of them, a blind man, tried to reach the detainee holding, in his hand some flowers. They were daisies. Another one, an old man with the eyes of a sage, told Galan: "Stand straight! Suppress any submission!"

These were tragic memories yet, according to Galan himself, they strengthened his courage. He took the old man's saying as a legacy. The words "The people need you," as Galan said, made him happy.

Today he would have received cornflowers and nasturtiums which he also liked. They were linked with other memories: At that time landowners' Poland considered Yaroslav Aleksandrovich "unreliable," and fired him from a teaching position. Then several of his students brought to him a bouquet of cornflowers and nasturtiums and said: "This is to thank you for having taught us the good."

This is how we would have celebrated today had Galan been alive among us. He would have been probably white-haired and wrinkled but his spirit would have remained young. This was the spirit of a communist, of a courageous and angry fighter for a life built according to the canons of Lenin's wisdom and for the promotion of internationalism which, as Galan said, contained "universal life-creating forces." He had the spirit of a fighter for the truth, merciless in the struggle against those who, in a state of crying rage and psychosis, revere the degenerate idol a pierced fragment of wood with bits of rags colored in faded blue and corpse-yellow. He described sacrifices to this idol as "creations of evil and weak mindedness."

Galan's objection to colonialism would not have weakened. He described it as "the black spot of the past and the present of our planet." He would

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have condemned even more sternly those who are thinking of the rebirth of fascism--"the most abominable of all abominations in the world," as well as those who would like to see the birth again in blood, in the smoke of war. The power of his words would not have been diminished by time--words which, during the war, turned into terrible shells hitting the enemy. It was no accident that front-line soldiers sent letters with the request to hear more frequently Galan's talks, for "they act as a bullet...They help us." It was not said in vain then that the raids of Hitler's aviation on Saratov were aimed in particular at the local Shevchenko Radio Station which steadily transmitted Galan's radio commentaries. Yes, this short man, gentle, rarely good and delicate, was terrible to the enemies of socialism and progress. The bearers of death and darkness deprived him of his life.

Galan, a master of journalism, would have retained his talent for many years. M. Ryl'skiy called him the conscience of Ukrainian journalism. According to Yu. Smolich he was a propaganda artist; he was the pamphlet writer described by Ostap Vishnya as a "powerful satirical talent;" he was the author of stories, essays, and, particularly, plays about which the famous actor A. Buchma said: Here we see many gleams of true talent; he was the person about whom A. Dovzhenko said: "He is one of those who do everything splendidly." Indeed, Galan displayed amazing talents in seemingly most unexpected areas: He expressed profound views on problems of pedagogy and theater directing, painting, ballet, and, particularly, music. He was a talented musician, an excellent violinist.

Naturally, his thirst for truth and for the good of the people would not have diminished. "My life," Galan said once, "is rich in dark hours when I think of how little good there is on earth, in its firm habitat, only on that part of the earth proudly known as Soviet..." Galan frequently displayed striking perspicacity in his thoughts of the future. For example, during the war, without doubting the victory over the Hitlerite hordes, he nevertheless predicted that in the capitalist countries there will be intensive searches for new and even more terrible means for the destruction of people; there will be waves of lies and slanders directed against us; the "artillery of distorted ideas" will be deployed against our country.

However, he also "saw in the future the outlines of brightness" and, in this case, was just as perspicacious. As his friend P. Kozlanyuk recalls, in the 1940's Yaroslav Aleksandrovich was convinced that man would soon reach outer space and that this will be done precisely by a Soviet person who will be followed by people from other countries, and that in the next decades colonialism will already be referred to in the past tense. With inflexible faith Galan emphasized that in his fatherland life "will only go upwards," providing ever-greater happiness and justice; here the people will always feel themselves the masters of life rather than its stepsons; the laws of the Soviet Union would become even more humane and wiser. Our days, when the fundamental law of life in Lenin's country is being expanded and perfected even further, are providing convincing proof of Galan's predictions.

I recall a conversation with Yaroslav Aleksandrovich. In a peaceful autumn evening a time of fabulous colors came: Leaves began to shine like little gold lanterns, the setting sun colored pink paths in the grass, and the water in a distant river was silvery. Galan stopped and, looking at all this, said: "How many precious things there are in the world!"

He was told: "It would seem difficult to assume that you, a person who could be so angry, as your readers know you to be, could enjoy peaceful, idyllic pictures." He answered: "The main feeling in me is love. My anger stems from love for the people and hatred for what is bad for them...A person who does not warmly love the people is not a person but merely a dead combination of muscles, nerves, and bones. It is terrible to live without loving people, without thinking of their good." After a silence he added: "It is terrible and loathsome."

He himself was a model of the type of effective love for men, for the people, which gives rights to immortality. Yaroslav Galan will remain forever alive and in our ranks as a fighter, a tribune, and a builder.

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## CONFIDENT STEPS OF A FRATERNAL PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 94-97

[Travel notes by N. Sibiryakov and M. Chepiaov, Moscow-Pyongyang-Moscow]

[Text] For over an hour we have been on the road to Kaesong, Korea's ancient capital. Lining the highway are carefully cultivated fields with rice, barley, corn, tobacco, ginseng, and other crops. Many mountain slopes have been terraced and here and there irrigation systems could be seen. Previously bare fields and mountains are now covered in fruit trees and groves of maple and Manchurian ash trees. We cross villages, workers' settlements, and towns. Our fellow traveler Sim San Din, deputy editor-in-chief of (KYNNOCHZHA) ['Working Man'], the theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Labor Party, on whose invitation we, members of KOMMUNIST, are visiting the Korean People's Democratic Republic, names surrounding agricultural cooperatives, plants, and factories whose buildings stand near or at a distance from the road. From time to time he lapses into short silences at which point his sunburned manly face darkens. (Li Din Khun), the journal's commentator and our interpreter, understands, nods to us, and says quietly: "Korea was reborn under his own eyes and he personally participated in this most energetically." We remain silent and unwittingly begin to remember pictures of the recent history of the country, mixed with vivid impressions of the present.

...August 1945. The Soviet armed forces have totally defeated an elite army of the Japanese militarists--the famous Kwantung Army. This played a decisive role at the concluding stage of World War II. An end was put to imperialist rule in North Korea. For many years the armed forces of the Korean people, created by the communists, selflessly fought the Japanese colonizers.

...September 1948. The Supreme People's Assembly elected at the universal elections in accordance with the decision of the Second Congress of the Korean Labor Party, held in March of the same year, proclaimed the founding of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The establishment of a truly democratic independent state on Korean soil was the legitimate result of the

selfless struggle waged by the Korean people for their national liberation. It opened the way to the implementation of radical socioeconomic changes and for the building of a socialist society. In 1949 the Korean People's Democratic Republic passed a two-year plan for the restoration of the national economy and its further development. Relying on the help of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic energetically undertook its implementation. However, their peaceful toil was interrupted.

.....June 1950. The South Korean military took up arms against the KPDR. The United States immediately involved itself in this Korean conflict, sending to Korea its land, navy, and air forces. Army units of a number of other capitalist countries took the side of the United States in the armed operations. On the appeal of the Korean Labor Party the people of Korea rose to a patriotic war of liberation which lasted three years. With the support of the USSR and the other socialist states, and of the progressive forces the world over, the KPDR properly resisted the aggressors and forced them to sign an armistice. Nevertheless, the enemies of People's Democratic Korea were gloating, hoping that the North Korean economy would become totally paralized. Indeed, tremendous harm was done to the country. Pyongyang--the capital of the KPDR--was in ruins and many cities and villages had been either burned or destroyed. All industrial sectors and agriculture suffered. Some United States experts most seriously believed that the KPDR would need no less than 100 years of rebuilding.

However, in no more than 20 years the KPDR not only rebuilt that which it had before the war but went far ahead, becoming a developed industrial country confidently marching toward the building of socialism. Within a short historical period, in fraternal alliance with the socialist countries, the working people of People's Korea, headed by the Labor Party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Kim Il'song, created a modern industry and developed agriculture and promoted the upsurge of national culture and science.

As early as 1970 the volume of industrial output had exceeded the level of the pre-war 1949 21 times; compared with 1970 the 1975 industrial output was 2.2 times higher. The very structure of industry became entirely different. Under the People's Regime the KPDR created new sectors such as machine building (machine tool building plants in (Khithkhon) and (Mangend), machine building plants in (Rakvon) and (Khamkhy), and mining machinery enterprises in Pyongyang and Nanam), organic chemistry, and others. Progress was made in the light and food industries and the power industry expanded considerably. Considerable successes were achieved in agriculture whose 1976 volume of output was 2.5 times higher compared with 1949. In 1976 the country harvested over 8 million tons of grain--the highest amount ever under the People's Regime. This year's target is no less than 8.5 million tons.

"This task," we were told in the course of our meeting with (Li Ok San), labor hero of the KPDR, chairman of the (Kochkhan) Korean-Soviet Friendship Cooperative, "will be strictly fulfilled: This is guaranteed by the industriousness of our peasants and the constant help to the villages given by the cities and the workers supplying us with the necessary equipment."

The cooperative has a large number of various machines and agricultural inventory. It also has tractors produced at the (Kymson) Tractors Plant. We had visited the plant the previous evening. The deputy director who showed us the shops said that every year the enterprise's collective is increasing its output of tractors and other agricultural equipment. He proudly emphasized that the plant's output is considered excellent. All this shows the zealousness and high organization of the workers who are successfully participating in the (Chkhollima) movement<sup>1</sup>--competing for a fast upsurge of labor productivity, high development pace, and continuing innovation.

"There is always a crowd surrounding the exhibits of the tractors plant at the industrial and agricultural exhibit in Pyongyang," said Sim San Din suddenly, as though reading our thoughts. "Demand for the enterprise's output is growing with every passing year."

It would have been difficult to disagree with this statement made by our Korean friend. Indeed, we saw at the exhibit many items produced in (Kymson) in which the visitors were very interested. Actually, the exhibit as a whole deserves a good word. Its booths and open areas exhibit items produced by the national economy of the KPDR. Looking at the powerful locomotives, excavators, drilling and mining combines, and light and food industry goods one is unwittingly imbued with respect for the creative thinking of the Korean people and for their tremendous constructive possibilities.

Great strides have been made in science and culture as well. The Academy of Sciences of the KPDR was founded in 1952. Subsequently the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the Academy of Medical Sciences, the Academy of Forestry, and others were organized on the basis of a number of scientific research institutions. Today there are over 150 higher educational institutions in the country whereas no single one existed before the people's revolution. We visited the Pyongyang Institute of the National Economy which celebrated its 30th anniversary last year. It is justifiably described as the forge for the republic's cadres. In three decades the institute has trained over 32,000 specialists. "Today it would be difficult to name a national economic sector in which our alumni are not at work," said the institute's deputy rector. We visited the laboratories and classrooms of this school and were greatly impressed by its modern training facilities which included electronic equipment.

The socialist culture of People's Korea is blossoming while retaining and developing many of its original national features. Culture palaces, theaters,

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<sup>1</sup> A monument--(Chkhollima) winged horse ridden by a worker and a peasant woman, has been erected in the center of Pyongyang, on an elevation. This horse which, according to legend, could cover 1,000 li per day (about 400 kilometers) symbolizes the headlong pace of the building of socialism in the KPDR.

motion picture theaters, museums, and clubs are visible everywhere, not only in Pyongyang or the big cities. The entire country is covered by a broad network of cultural institutions. In Kaesong, where we arrived toward the end of the day, we were amazed by the splendid palace for children and school students, which reminded us of a similar palace we visited in Pyongyang. Here the children (several thousand children could attend the various sections) have the possibility to spend their time in a cultured, happy, and useful manner, select an occupation or master a skill.

"A great deal has been done in Kaesong and this is pleasing," said again Sim San Din, as though thinking aloud, "as has been the case with other cities and villages in the KPDR. However, we have unresolved problems. We are aware of them. It was no accident that 1977 was proclaimed the year of regularization. The reason was that disproportions were found in the development of individual sectors adversely affecting overall progress. In order to eliminate such undesirable phenomena the Korean working people were assigned the task of tightening up some sectors, the extracting industry and transportation above all, within a short time, before the adoption of the next seven-year plan."

"It must be said that our people are coping with this task," said Kim (En-Nam), secretary of the Korean Labor Party Central Committee, in his final talk with us. "The people have essentially already undertaken the fulfillment of the new plan whose draft will be considered at the sixth Korean Labor Party Congress." Kim (En-Nam) further noted, with particular satisfaction, that the Korean and Soviet peoples are linked with strong friendship ties tempered in the course of the joint struggle against imperialism, for freedom and liberation, and for the triumph of the great cause of socialism and communism. In turn, we pointed out that the Soviet people have always cared for maintaining traditional friendship and cooperation relations with the Korean people and have tried to promote their further development and strengthening in all fields of life on the basis of the inviolable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

...After a short rest in Kaesong, in a new, modern hotel, we took off again for Panmunjom in the demilitarized zone where to this day the Korean armistice military commission still meets. Once again the face of Sim San Din darkened and froze. The officer from the Korean People's Army who accompanied us explained that the 38th parallel along which passes the military demarcation line dividing North from South Korea is a living wound for all Koreans. For many years this single nation has been divided and for many years the working people, the government of the KPDR, and the Korean Labor Party Central Committee, supported by the peace-loving public of all countries, have been making efforts for the unification of Korea on a peaceful and democratic basis. These proposals are being rejected by the anti-people regime in Seoul. "However, we keep hoping," said firmly the border guard officer, "that the Korean people will live as a single family." He, all soldiers of the Korean People's Army, and all working people in the KPDR are very happy that the people of the Soviet Union, the country of the Great October Revolution, have always supported the cherished hopes of the Korean people. Let us point out that we were in the KPDR during the month of solidarity

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with the struggle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and for the unification of the country on a peaceful and democratic basis was taking place in the Soviet Union. The central and local press of the KPDR carried news on this month-long event and on meetings and gatherings which were being held in various towns and villages in our country.

...We returned to Pyongyang early the next morning. We crossed familiar settlements and cities and again we saw fields without, it seemed to us, a single bit of unused land...Everywhere, despite the early hour we saw people, trucks, and equipment...The labor day was beginning at the high pace.

"What impressed you the most?" Sim San Din asked as we were approaching Pyongyang.

Naturally, we answered, we were most impressed by the people of the KPDR. Unusual industriousness, revolutionary optimism, and rush to the future, revealed in the course of the radical socioeconomic changes made in the country thanks to the organizing and guiding influence of the Korean Labor Party, make a tremendous impression.

Korea is frequently described as the country of the morning freshness and the accuracy of the image becomes apparent to every visitor. The most amazing thing here, however, is the spirit of the Korean people, fighters and workers, purposefully promoting a new life on their ancient land.

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COLLECTIVISM AND CORPORATISM; FEATURES OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TWO OPPOSITE SYSTEMS

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[Article by V. Vasil'yev]

[Text] The outstanding historical document--the draft of the new USSR Constitution--which has drawn the very close attention of the entire Soviet people and of the world's public, adamantly calls for the intensified elaboration of major theoretical problems pertaining to the social organization of contemporary society. The political charter of developed socialism, as the draft of the fundamental law of the Soviet State is already being called, reflects the highest stage reached by mankind in its social development and contains the principles of true factual democracy constituting the essence of the socialist system. It is natural that the scientific analysis of these principles, implemented in the course of the struggle between the two opposite systems, makes it necessary to consider the processes occurring in the realm of the social organization of bourgeois society. Such a comparison enables us to see more clearly the nature and implementation of the profound laws governing contemporary social development.

Briefly stated, in their most consolidated manner they are manifested in features of the social organization such as collectivism, inherent in a truly democratic socialist system, and the corporatism of capitalist society, a deformed substitute of democracy which is a specifically contemporary pseudo-collectivistic clannish form of existence of the private ownership principle under the conditions of the historical decline of the exploiting system.

The purpose of the present article is to define the main lines of the study of such features of social organization.

I

The complex socioeconomic problems related to the intensification of social progress as a whole and the development of production forces, and the growing pace of the scientific and technical revolution in particular, make necessary the constant search for new ways and means to control social processes. That

is precisely why the 25th CPSU Congress faced our country with major tasks related to improving the social organization in the broadest possible meaning of the term.

The Marxist-Leninists proceed from the fact that the deepest foundation of all processes occurring in this area is the steadily progressing socialization of output moved by the intensified division of labor.

The process of an ever-deeper division of labor is inherent in any socio-economic system. It becomes particularly intensive in the course of the scientific and technical revolution. This circumstance has been considered by many bourgeois economists as proof of the identical effect which technical progress has on the socialist organization of society regardless of its sociopolitical system. With full justification such a viewpoint could be considered one of the main trends of contemporary vulgar political economy. Yet, the level of production socialization is determined not only by the extent of division of labor but by the forms of ownership as well. Therefore, even with a similar structure of the division of labor the level of production socialization and, consequently, its corresponding forms of social organization cannot be identical under socialism and capitalism. Whereas the socialist economic system is based on the socialist ownership of capital goods and its specific socialist distribution method, the private form of ownership and its related private nature of acquisition remain the socioeconomic foundations of state-monopoly capitalism, even after the creation of international associations. Even the latest organizational forms and most modern management methods brought to life by the scientific and technical revolution do not eliminate the exploiting nature of capitalist production relations.

The basic difference in the effect of technical progress on the evolution of social forms under the conditions of either socioeconomic system is also based on the nature of its development objectives. Eliminating the exploitation of man by man and class inequality, and proclaiming the building of communism its main objective, socialism creates a totality of socioeconomic institutions typified not by isolation and intensified social differentiation but increasing integration and unity, which is one of the decisive advantages of the socialist system in its historical competition with capitalism.

Yet, in the study of new bourgeois sociological theories it is precisely the absence of clearly formulated development targets that is striking. The use of many new concepts such as "logic of functional rationality," or "political ethos" (expressions used by D. Bell, the American bourgeois sociologist) turn out to be merely fresh terms replacing traditional categories. While the socialist society, having set for itself the inspiring goal of building communism, is insuring the existence of dynamism and is improving its social organization, the objective of capitalism is merely to adapt to the new conditions for the sake of preserving the existing social foundations. As a result, any new development in the management of social and economic processes leads not to a strengthening of ties among the individual links of the social mechanism but to the further aggravation of socio-class conflicts.

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In the socialist society the improvement of social forms follows the line of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. This makes possible the placing of such achievements at the service of the people and the interests of the broad toiling masses. This was particularly emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress. "We, communists," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "proceed from the fact that the scientific and technical revolution acquires a proper direction consistent with the interests of man and society only under socialist conditions. In turn, it is only on the basis of the accelerated development of science and technology that the final objectives of the social revolution--the building of a communist society--may be attained."

Therefore, the new social forms appearing under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution under the conditions of the different socioeconomic systems are characterized by basically different qualities specific to the given system. This circumstance deprives the supporters of the "convergence" theory of the hope that at one point technical progress will bring together the two socioeconomic systems. Nothing similar will happen. However zealously imperialist ideologues may publicize their latest abstract theories of social management, and however emphatically they may be convincing us that systems based on cybernetics lose their class affiliation, such views are refuted by reality: Social forms, even those organized in accordance with all cybernetic rules, retain their social nature. Furthermore, it is precisely the requirements of technical progress that create ever-deeper differences in the social organization and the new social forms which appear and develop in either social system. Such basic differences include the collectivism of the socialist organization and the corporatism of the capitalist organization, expressed in a type of intensification of the elitism in bourgeois society characterized, above all, by the extension of the elitist structure to the totality of the political and social institutions of the imperialist state. Therefore, corporatism inevitably emasculates even further the content of bourgeois democracy and offers the members of small social groups the possibility to satisfy their own interests at the expense of those of the broad masses.

## II

The corporatism of the capitalist social organization is directly linked with its main development trends in the imperialist stage.

The final document of the 1969 Moscow International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties noted the characteristics of contemporary imperialism. The document pointed out that under the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and the development of the scientific and technical revolution the state-monopoly nature of imperialism and the monopolistic concentration of production and capital are intensified. Existing social conflicts become further aggravated and new contradictions directly linked with the scientific and technical revolution appear. The antagonism between the interests of the majority of the nation and those of the monopoly bourgeoisie deepens.

All such processes cannot fail to influence the organization of the economic structure of society as well as its political and ideological structure, i.e., the realm of the super-structure. Among all western countries the most intensive changes created by the scientific and technical revolution occur in the United States. Many prestigious American sociologists and economists believe that neoclassical economic theories which, until relatively recently were the foundations of the bourgeois science of economics, become groundless as the result of such changes. It is partially this that explains the abundance of new social development concepts which have appeared in recent years.

J. Galbraith, the famous liberal-leaning bourgeois economist, noting changes in the economic organization of the United States directs the attention to the fact that the ever-more intensive concentration of capital and the growing power of the monopolies clash profoundly with the needed intensification of the regulating ability of the state. He emphasizes that it is a question of basic qualitative changes: "In fact there is a transformation of the very nature of the economic society. Not the state or the individual but the modern corporation becomes the decisive instrument for change" (J. K. Galbraith, "Ekonomicheskiye Teorii i Tseli Obshchestva" [Economic Theories and Social Objectives], Progress, Moscow, 1976, p 67).

Unlike American scientists who, like D. Bell, H. Kahn, or Z. Brezezinski, also note the existence of qualitative changes in the socioeconomic structure of contemporary American society, but who consider such changes to be based "on social stratification," and in the establishment of a "new class of intellectuals," Galbraith, while remaining a defender of state-monopoly, quite justifiably considers that the main reason for the occurring changes in society is the form of monopoly capital itself--the basis of the American social system. Without belittling the role of the social stratum represented by technocrats-managers, and even making the erroneous conclusion typical of many bourgeois scientists of the shifting of power from the owners of capital to them, he exposes an exceptionally important side of the process of change in American life which consists of the fact that operating through groups of technocrats the monopolies enjoy growing power not only in terms of the market and the views and concepts of the members of society but also in terms of the state, substantially limiting its possibilities in the field of economic control.

Assessing this process from Marxist positions, it is necessary to emphasize that it is a question of a serious growth of internal contradictions within the imperialist system triggered by the further socialization of output. Galbraith classifies among the most essential symptoms characterizing changes in the economic organization the appearance and development of a new monopoly function which he describes as a "planning system" and which he pits (with full justification) against the "market system." The term "planning system" could not be considered apt. It creates the impression that the use of a planning system means that the monopolies have been included in the state control mechanism. In reality, it is precisely the opposite that takes place.

Assuming ever-greater control over prices, costs, suppliers, and consumers, the monopolistic corporation and the technocratic structure representing it are not guided in the least by some general social objectives reflecting even the distorted balance of social interests developed by the imperialist state. Corporate monopoly actively counteracts state control. It even ignores trends in consumer demand on which classical market economy has always been based. Relying on the power of the monopolies, the technocrats organize such demand themselves, imposing upon the American consumer their own ideas of the usefulness and consumer value of commodities. The main factors guiding the monopolies as a corporate organization are its growth and securing a certain level of profit. "...The first protective objective of the technocratic structure," Galbraith writes, "is to insure an adequate and stable level of profits" (ibid, p 130).

Since this could be frequently achieved even without the help of the state and, consequently, since it does not mandate the observance of even trite bourgeois openness, it becomes easily possible to conceal the power of a corporation and the arbitrary behavior of its technocratic structure from the public. "The power of the managers is not displayed," Galbraith notes. "Furthermore, it is carefully concealed" (ibid, p 119). This circumstance should not be underestimated, for it proves that the technocracy has acquired the habits and way of action of the mafia. Let the public, the press, and the various governmental and philanthropic committees which "care" for the prosperity of the public try to understand the economic strategy which is formulated in the quiet of the remote offices of a handful of professional manipulators. The shameless ripping off of the consumer through higher prices, the imposition of an artificial structure of needs on the market, inefficient from the viewpoint of public tasks, and the waste of national resources are all facts which cannot fail to become the walls of life wherever the mafia begins to rule, even if such a mafia consists of "intellectuals" with university diplomas and doctoral degrees. This is further emphasized by the fact that the logic of class relations under the conditions of the imperialist state inevitably leads the scientific technocracy down this road. It is natural for such a system of economic organization to have a very strong incentive for the further aggravation of all social disproportions in the economy and, above all, the growth of inflation and the imposition of an inflationary development on the entire society, regardless of the type of social requirements and urgent problems which arise in the country.

The fact that such new qualities developing in the monopoly associations should not be considered in the least a purely American phenomenon have been confirmed today in a number of works. Similar trends, this time based on the study of British experience, have been noted by British bourgeois economist S. Brittan (S. Brittan, "The Economic Contradictions of Democracy," BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, Vol 5, 1975, London, pt 2). The monograph published by the Institute of Marxist Studies in Frankfurt am Main analyzing the socio-class structure of the FRG ("Klassen-und Sozialstruktur der BRD 1950-1970. Theorie, Diskussion, sozialstatistische Analyse" [Classes and Social Structure in the FRG 1950-1970. Theory, Discussion, Socio-statistical Analysis], Frankfurt am Main, 1973) considers in detail the question of the

new technocratic stratum which, even though not covering all corporate phenomena in itself is, nevertheless, a sufficiently definite characteristic of its development.

Quite understandably, having appeared in the field of economic organization, corporatism cannot fail to effect the realm of social relations. It must be pointed out that both in the United States and in other capitalist countries this is assisted by the presence of a large number of so-called "pressure groups," i.e., various associations defending the interests of narrow social strata. Characteristically, in the period in the course of which the changes noted by Galbraith in the organization of the monopolies become particularly noticeable, group activities become greatly intensified precisely in circles related to the monopolies. Soviet researcher V. V. Smirnov characterizes this phenomenon as a "factual explosion of business political activities" (V. V. Smirnov, "SSha: Politicheskiy Mekhanizm Gorodskogo Upravleniya" [United States: Political Mechanism of Urban Management], Nauka, Moscow, 1976, pp 120-121). In addition to the already existing formally organized groups representing capitalist interests and, consequently, specifically labeled, the technocrats gain extensive opportunities to defend their corporate interests through the organization of informal groups using to this purpose their professional contacts among scientists, lawyers, politicians, and other social groups whose significance becomes ever greater under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. A certain strengthening of the social infrastructure of the monopolies takes place not through a broadening of their social base but by involving on their side (naturally, not for free) the most influential professionals.

Naturally, the corporate forms of organization of social relations cannot fail to conflict with democratic trends. "It is axiomatic in group activities," notes R. Michels, a modern bourgeois sociologist, "that the majority of organized groups are controlled in practice by a small active minority..." (R. Michels, "Political Parties. A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy," New York, 1959, p 393). R. Michels believes that this phenomenon is becoming a pattern and that the "iron law of the oligarchy" operates within society. Introducing in the field of socio-political relations the spirit of corporate clannishness, the monopoly circles try to isolate the democratic progressive forces, relying on the fact that the technocratic organization will bring about a decline in class solidarity and in political activeness of the masses. The targets of the "officially unorganized" yet practically firmly structured groups of American corporation owners are to disorganize the struggle of the revolutionary forces, complicate the growth of the class awareness of the working people, and create conditions for the dissemination of a narrow nonpolitical mentality based on professionalism which is a corporate coat.

We have now reached the very important problem of the manifestations of corporatism in the field of state control. We already noted the restriction of state functions by monopoly power. This is a manifestation of the detrimental nature and crisis of the imperialist state. Essentially, the bourgeois scientists themselves agree with this. According to that same

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S. Brittan "the destructive consequences of the pursuit of personal egotistical objectives by different groups, associations, and organization in the field of economics, or 'group egotism,' are one of the main threats to liberal representative democracy..." (S. Brittan, *op. cit.*, p 142).

Soberly assessing the socially dangerous consequences of corporatism, the representatives of liberal bourgeois currents try to find ways for the establishment of state control over the development of this trend. The facts, however, show that these efforts are failing rather than succeeding: The ability of the bourgeois state to exercise control is weakening as is manifested by a bureaucratic symbiosis as J. Galbraith properly notes. Whereas the market system, he writes, comes closer to the government through legislation, i.e., through that arm of the power of the state whose significance has declined of late, the technocratic structure and the planning system are establishing relations with the state bureaucracy whose significance, conversely, is rising (see J. Galbraith, *op. cit.*, pp 207-208).

We must point out that the American political system has certain properties which facilitate the development of corporate structures. A considerable decentralization of party functions, the very substantial influence exercised by political bosses from local organizations on national politics, and the cult of professional lobbying are favorable grounds for the direct interference of corporations in the political area. In fact, the process of the growth of US political institutions into corporatism has already begun. It is noteworthy that an acknowledgement of this may be found in a collective monograph on American democracy prepared by a group of leading official US sociologists as a textbook on political management. "Associations of individuals representing group interests are one of the most significant phenomena of the American political system...In a certain sense even political parties play a less important and more occasional role than pressure groups." The work further states that "...The requirements of the electoral system force even the president and his deputy to think rather in terms of categories of individual electoral groups in each state rather than categories of a truly national electoral body" (C. P. Magrath, E. E. Cornwell, and J. S. Goodman, "The American Democracy," New York, 1969, pp 21, 106).

Expressing the changes occurring in the economic organization of monopoly capital, in the structure of the social relations it imposes, and in the state-political area, corporate forms cannot fail to be correspondingly reflected in imperialist ideology. Corporatism conceals the class nature of relations among people and replaces relations among classes with relations among different types of narrow groups, anti-social and egotistical in terms of their interests. Therefore, the various theories which reject the significance of the class struggle at the contemporary stage, such as the concept of "social stratification" or "political pluralism" could be considered with sufficient grounds as manifestations of corporate ideology. The assertion of the ideas of corporatism represents an intensification of the crisis in imperialist ideology emphasizing the equalizing and conciliating role of the capitalist states as well as the old bourgeois ideology based on free private initiative concealed behind the slogan of individual freedom.

Cultivating the spirit of corporatism, imperialism loses the possibility to act as a defender of individual freedom. It is forced to reject the banner of individualism inherited from the classical capitalism of the period of bourgeois revolutions, for corporatism conflicts as much with the traditions of individualism as it does with the interests of society at large. Rejecting and eliminating individual freedom, corporatism does not replace it in the least by real collectivism, i.e., by relations consistent with the true interests of society.

Being what it is, capitalism is unable to do this. The trend of production socialization, like any other realm of social life, mercilessly suppresses traditional bourgeois individualism. However, the corporatism which replaces it merely distorts the objective trend toward collectivism and represents a new group form of bourgeois individualism, for the nature of corporate relations, regardless of corporate differences, remains selfish, egotistical, and private, i.e., anti-social. Corporatism, therefore, acts as the historically final form of development of bourgeois individualism specific of the imperialist epoch, rejecting individualism and carrying within itself its own negation.

Developed further in the program documents of the CPSU and of other communist parties, exposing the historical hopelessness of imperialism and of its typical social forms, Marxism-Leninism points out the main obstacle which prevents the monopolies from finding a safe place under the new conditions of the epoch. It is the deep and irreconcilable contradiction between the contemporary social reality and the new trends in the development of imperialism, the conflict between corporatism and the interests of the broad toiling strata, and the inability of imperialism to give society the type of organization which would be consistent with the nature of the political, social, economic, and other problems it faces. Corporatism does not rally society for the solution of such problems but merely serves the interests of the monopolistic oligarchy, thus pitting it against society even more sharply and irreconcilably.

### III

The evolution of social forms in the socialist world is of a qualitatively different nature. The appearance of a more complex organization consistent with the requirements of the developed socialist society and the scientific and technical revolution leads to the ever-more profound and systematic development of collectivism.

It is unnecessary to explain that the collectivism of the socialist social organization is the objective manifestation of a qualitatively different level of production socialization under socialism. The basically different natures of the social division of labor under socialism and capitalism were profoundly disclosed by the founders of Marxism themselves. The socialist forms of ownership, and the absence of exploiting classes create conditions for the formulation of single development objectives consistent with the

interests of the entire society and of the individual. It is precisely on this basis, as is stipulated in the draft of the USSR Constitution, that there has appeared in the Soviet Union "a society of mature socialist social relations in which a new historical community--the Soviet people--appeared on the basis of the rapprochement among all social strata and the juridical and factual equality among all nations and nationalities."

The formulation of the problem of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties in the socialist countries means that it is a question not of the simple acceptance by the socialist economy of the latest technical achievements, but of their creative and organic mastering and of the fact that the scientific and technical revolution must help not only in the development of production forces but in improving collectivistic social forms.

Let us note that two simplifications may be encountered in assessing the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on the socioeconomic structure. On the one hand, some scientists tend to consider simplistically any of its manifestations as something positive which intensifies the socio-class homogeneousness of society, automatically upgrading the leading role of the working class. On the other hand, as notes G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, "many journalists, including socialist sympathizers, have begun to sound the alarm: Has it not become necessary to choose between competence (and, therefore, effectiveness) of management and the participation of the broad popular masses in it, and does not technical progress undermine the very idea of socialist democracy?" (G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, "Sotsialisticheskaya Demokratiya" [Socialist Democracy], Moscow, 1974, p 10). Essentially, both viewpoints are wrong. The first does not clearly distinguish between technical progress, reflecting changes in production forces, and changes in production relations, including distribution, whereas the second allows a mechanical tranference of manifestations of the scientific and technical revolution under imperialist conditions to the conditions of a socialist society.

The draft of the USSR Constitution stipulates that the distinguishing and organically interrelated features and main ways of subsequent progress by socialist democracy are insuring the effectiveness of the management of social affairs and the further steady development of the creative initiative of the masses.

Naturally, it is true that under socialism as well technical progress leads to a more complex and deeper differentiation in the employment structure, to an enhancement of the role of professional groups, and to a growing production concentration. To the same extent the broadening of the economic initiative of individual economic units and cells, and the strengthening of their organizational autonomy represent a legitimate manifestation of the scientific and technical revolution under socialist conditions.

However, the changes in the structure of Soviet society in this direction do not lead to the transformation of professional groups into privileged castes which put their own group interests above those of society but, conversely, to a reduction of disparities in the nature, content, and qualification of labor and, consequently, in the realm of distribution and, on this basis, to a rapprochement among classes and social groups. In precisely the same way the party's course of production concentration, meeting the requirements of technical progress and opening broad scope for the scientific and technical revolution, leads not to a reduction of the functions of the state but to strengthening the forms of socialist ownership and to their rapprochement, as well as to an intensification of the planning principles in the economy.

Naturally, the fact that under socialism corporatism as a specific social relations neither appears nor could appear, and whereas socialism is not faced with the false dilemma of choosing between democracy and technical progress, this does not mean in the least that the combination of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist organization of the economy assumes the nature of an automatic process. The complexity of the socioeconomic structure of the new society, inherent in the current stage, and the tasks related to the building of communism under the conditions of a struggle between the two social systems require the constant attention of the party, the state, and the entire people for insuring a maximal correlation between the economic and social organization of technical progress and the principles of collectivism in all realms of social life. As the first phase of communism in which the collective nature of human relations will gain its most complete manifestation, socialism already eliminates the basic contradiction between the private interests of individuals and collectives and the interests of the entire society, even though it does not eliminate the different interests. The fact that the matter of the correlation among social, group, and individual interests has been repeatedly the topic of serious and profound discussions in the mass press and in special publications<sup>1</sup> in itself confirms the major socio-political significance of the topic.

The production method based on the public ownership of capital goods, the absence of exploiting classes, and the entire system of socialist democracy with the communist party acting as its organizing and guiding force are objective prerequisites for the organic combination of individual, collective, and national interests. However, it is only in the course of the specific and systematic implementation of the socioeconomic policy formulated by the party that the interests of the individual, the collective, or the social group are not placed higher or on the same level with the national interests by virtue of the subjective aspirations of individuals, while the interests of both individuals and collectives are attained through the interests of society. Naturally, in some cases the existence under socialism of objective non-antagonistic contradictions, as well as of contradictions which arise by virtue of one or another subjective reason may become sources for the development of group interests which could create phenomena conflicting with the collectivism of the socialist society and complicate the process of the building of communism. It would be simplistic to believe that such phenomena are limited merely to the realm of ethics or of activities of some individuals.

Such complications arise not only in the course of clashes with vestiges of the old morality or as the result of anti-socialist actions committed by individuals; it is no less important here to pay attention to the conflict between society and group actions expressing the narrow interests of official or unofficial associations. In some cases such conflicts between group interests and the interests of society at large could occur as the result of the weakening of relations between the individual interest of the collective and the interest of society or of errors in the work of individual units within the social organization; they are rarely related to deliberate and planned violations of norms governing socialist community life. Clashes among group interests based on so-called clannishness are of a different nature. Clannishness is a recurrence of petit bourgeois individualism, a distortion of the principles of socialist organization, a conflict with the interests of the socialist society, and the rejection (fully or partially realized or even unrealized) of the principles of communist morality. To the extent to which it exceeds the framework of socialist group interests, this phenomenon represents a step in the direction of bourgeois corporatism.

We could not fail to mention the vestiges of nationalism among social phenomena which could become the base for the appearance of various types of clannishness. The new system created an unparalleled free and equal comity of socialist nations. A Soviet national statehood appeared in our country making possible not only the political unity among nations but the formulation by the party of tasks related to their blossoming and rapprochement in the course of the building of communism. Therefore, anything which hinders the implementation of this great objective must be unconditionally removed from the life of our society. The party has always waged a systematic and decisive struggle against manifestations of clannishness, considering them as serious violations of party and state discipline, and as hindrances to the efficient and planned functioning of the entire social organization of our society.

In addition to the incomplete coincidence of the interests of collectives at different levels (which is also an objective basis for contradictions between the common and the separate under socialism), deviation from the principles of socialist collectivity could arise by virtue of the erroneous understanding on the part of individual units within the social organization of the correlation between current and long-term tasks; as the result of deviations from planned assignments in the course of the implementation of the plan by some workers and enterprises; or as the result of errors committed by individual workers in implementing the party's course of combining the trend toward centralization, legitimate in a socialist society, with the development of local initiative. Formulating a program for the socioeconomic development of Soviet society and promoting its implementation, the CPSU always takes such circumstances into consideration and earmarks a course leading to the rapprochement and unification of the interests of all socialist collectives.

In the light of the tremendous tasks formulated at the 25th CPSU Congress improving the socialist social organization in the direction of a systematic development of the principles of collectivism assumes tremendous importance.

Upgrading production effectiveness not simply on the scale of the individual enterprise, production association, or even entire sector, but on the scale of the entire national economy means, above all, upgrading social labor productivity while improving further socialist economic ratios. By its very nature this task is both economic and social, for which reason its solution requires both improvements in the economic planning and management systems as well as the growth of the creative activeness of all social strata and groups within Soviet society.

Improvements in the mechanism of cost accounting relations and the intensified role of economic levers in the period following the October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noticeably upgraded the interests of individual production collectives and entire associations in the better utilization of material and financial resources. However, the combination of the interests of the collective with those of the entire society calls for the properly coordinated use of various forms of economic incentive and responsibility as well as methods for the scientific organization of management on a national scale. The CPSU Central Committee accountability report to the 25th Party Congress not only clearly formulates this task but defines the most important criteria which must be met in the solution of individual organizational problems.

"We must," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "simultaneously strengthen both principles of democratic centralism. On the one hand, we must develop centralism thus blocking departmental and parochial tendencies. On the other, we must develop democratic principle and mass initiative, and relieve the upper management echelons from petty matters, insuring operativeness and flexibility in decision making." Thus, the decisions of the 25th congress direct the party and the state and governmental organs toward a systematic implementation of the principles of socialist collectivism and their further strengthening, and the creation of conditions blocking the development of group, departmental, and parochial interests harmful to the interests of the state.

This objective will be attained on the basis of a program for the comprehensive solution of inter-sectorial and territorial problems, profoundly elaborated at the 25th congress, by converting to a two- and three-step industrial management system, and the creation of agroindustrial complexes and of specialized organs to coordinate target and territorial programs. The implementation of such measures will bring about the even deeper combination of individual, collective, and public interests. It will promote the further rapprochement between town and country. It will strengthen even further the moral and political unity of the Soviet people embodying the highest form of socialist collectivity.

The Marxist-Leninist communist parties which determine the direction and course of the political process in the interest of the entire people are the decisive factor in the systematic development of the collective foundations of the social organization in the socialist countries. The systematic advancement of socialist statehood, the development of socialist democracy as a whole, insuring the broadest possible social control in all realms of life, and systematic efforts to upgrade the level of social

consciousness under the party's guidance--the most important aspect of CPSU activities--are the most important instruments which make possible in the present conditions of profound differentiation within the production and social structure the successful solution of contradictions between the private and the common, between group interests and the interest of society at large. Within the system of socialist social relations the party plays the role of the leading force in social integration, insuring the high level of unity of the entire society. It is precisely the communist party that acts as the bearer and promoter of communist ideology embodying the highest form of collective consciousness.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution, approved at the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, confirms the depth and scale of the party's work for the further development of socialist democracy and for the principles of true collectivism, firmly established in the life of Soviet society. "The enactment of the new constitution," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "will enable millions and millions of Soviet people to engage even more actively in economic management and control over the work of the state apparatus." Thus the new constitution not only codifies achievements but contains the possibility for steady improvements in the entire socialist social system in our country.

The consolidation of the principles of collectivism in socialist society and increased corporatism in capitalist society confirm the basic contradiction in the development trends of the two social systems and the intensification of the basic differences between their specific social forms. Under imperialist conditions the reorganization of social forms is following the direction of the corporate organization, representing intensified social conflicts, the ever-greater subordination of the interests of society to the private interests of privileged groups within the ruling class, and the further aggravation of the problem of alienation in all realms of social life. Such a development inevitably accelerates the crisis in political and social institutions inherent in the capitalist world.

The socialist society offers mankind the true path to progress. As it advances toward communism, it is finding ever-more advanced forms of social organization making possible to place to the service of man the achievements of technical progress and to combine the interests of individuals with the interests of the highest form of collectivity at the present stage--the Soviet people as a new historical community--and its socialist nations, the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, and their strengthening comity. To millions of people the world over a socialist future is becoming inseparably linked with the future of man, mankind, and humanity.

FOOTNOTE

1. See, in particular, articles in the journal EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI for 1970-1971

An extensive substantive discussion of these problems was sponsored by (TARSHADALMI SEMLE), theoretical and political journal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, in its issues Nos 8 and 9 for 1976 and Nos 7 and 8 for 1977 (editor's note).

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## CHINA AFTER MAO TSE-TUNG

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 110-121

[Unattributed review]

[Text] On the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution life in the Soviet Union and in the other fraternal socialist countries has been marked by important events. The congresses of communist and workers parties held in the past 2 years showed the power of the world's socialist community and its greatly increased influence on the course of international development. The congress decisions provided a deep Marxist-Leninist analysis of the distance covered and set even greater tasks in building a communist society. In this connection the new USSR constitution, which will embody the action of the general laws governing the development of socialism and will enrich the treasury of the collective experience of the world's socialist system, is of tremendous significance.

Consolidating and multiplying the outstanding accomplishments on the domestic political front, the members of the socialist community are also intensifying their joint struggle for peace and international cooperation, and freedom and independence of the peoples. The Soviet Union and its Communist Party guided by the Leninist Central Committee headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev played the historically determined role of vanguard in this successful peaceful offensive which is inseparable from the social progress of mankind. The CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties bear highly the banner of the Great October Revolution, the banner of proletarian internationalism and lasting peace on earth.

The dynamism of existing socialism and its growing peaceful offensive, allied with the workers and national-liberation movements and with all those who care for the destinies of mankind, trigger the fierce opposition of imperialist reaction. This reaction is escalating its struggle against the socialist countries and their peaceful course against detente. The Peking leadership is in the ranks of the enemies of peace and socialism.

As was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, the policy of the Peking leadership is openly directed against the majority of socialist countries. Furthermore, it openly approaches the position of the most extreme reaction and is not only alien to the principles and ideals of socialism but, essentially, has become an important reserve of imperialism.

The aspiration of the Soviet Union toward normalizing and developing intergovernmental relations with the PRC on the principles of peaceful coexistence was reasserted at the congress. Readiness to restore the ties of friendship was expressed as well, should the Chinese leadership return to a policy based on Marxism-Leninism.

The assessment made at the 25th CPSU Congress of Maoism and of Peking's inflammatory policy, shared by the other communist parties, remains topical.

Maoism ignores and distorts the general laws governing the building of socialism, laws which appeared for the first time in the practice of the Soviet Union and, subsequently, of the other fraternal countries. The Maoist stipulations on the most important social economic problems are of an anti-Marxist and subjective nature. They totally contradict the factual needs of Chinese society. The "Cultural Revolution" launched by Mao Tse-tung dealt the strongest possible blow at the foundations of socialism in China and undermined the people's democratic system. [paragraph continues]

The country's economic and social life became imbued with great power chauvinism and militarism. The pace of the PRC's economic development slowed. The problem of upgrading the prosperity of cultural standard of the Chinese working people remains unresolved.

By Mao Tse-tung's will, in the field of international relations China turned from friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with the USSR and the other socialist countries to a policy of hostility and struggle against them. Simultaneously a course of forming alliances with the most aggressive imperialist circles was charted. This line brought China neither the political nor the economic advantages on which the Maoists relied. China's prestige noticeably dropped in the eyes of all progressive and peace-loving forces. Peking's hopes of involving other countries in its political course failed. Peking's mask of being the "friend" of national-liberation movements was torn off. Its attempts to make use of the nonalignment movement were rejected.

Mao Tse-tung's domestic and foreign policy triggered the growing opposition of broad Chinese social strata. The discontent of party, state and military cadres and of the mass of the working people grew. The implementation of the course charted and defended by Mao Tse-tung harmed the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people in the PRC and created crisis situations.

Hardly anything has changed in this respect over the past year. The positions and political course of Mao Tse-tung's successors became quite apparent. Presently the picture of their approach to the most important problems of our time has become far clearer.

It should be noted that the leaders of the CCP, as is clear, do not intend to reject the Maoist ways, critically assess faulty concepts, and put the country back on the tracks of socialist building. The events of September-October 1976 did not go beyond a type of leadership coup which was limited to the removal of one of the rivaling groups without, however, bringing about radical political changes.

The CCP Central Committee plenum held from 16 to 21 July 1977 sanctioned Hua Kuo-feng as party Central Committee chairman. Teng Hsiao-ping was rehabilitated and "restored in all his positions." A decision was passed to summon the 11th CCP Congress "at a suitable time." The plenum decreed that "the gang of four" was to be expelled from the party "forever" and lose all its positions.

The plenum's work was factually reduced to a consideration of organizational matters. Despite the fact that lately the CCP leadership has paid greater attention to the economy, the situation in this area was not reflected in the communique.

The basic conclusion stemming from the plenum decisions may be reduced to the fact that the new CCP leadership is consolidating the party and the country on Maoist positions, and asserting the main Maoist domestic and foreign policy concepts. The plenum called upon "the entire party, the entire army, and all the peoples of our country to always bear highly the great banner of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and to follow his precepts."

Foreign news agencies have reported that the plenum took place in complex circumstances related to a struggle for power at the upper echelon of China's leadership, a struggle which broke out after Mao's death. The plenum decisions could be considered a compromise reached among the various political factions in Peking's leadership. It would be difficult to determine the stability of this compromise. [paragraph continues]

It is unquestionable, however, that the plenum's decisions did not remove the serious differences which may become even sharper as a result of Teng Hsiao-ping's rehabilitation. His restoration occurred after he had been removed from power on Mao Tse-tung's direct instructions which particularly emphasized that Teng "totally fails to understand Marxism-Leninism," "favors capitalism," and so on.

The plenum predetermined the nature and content of the decisions of the forthcoming 11th CCP Congress. It accepted "in the main" the Central Committee's political report, the report on changes in the party's bylaws, and the draft of the new bylaws. The official communique on the plenum shows that the 11th congress as well will take place under the banner of loyalty to Macism, including its anti-Soviet directions.

## I.

### The Domestic Situation in the PRC

The objectives and directions of the country's internal development have already been formulated in Peking in their essential lines. They were expressed in the leaders' speeches, the various decrees, the editorials of PEOPLE'S DAILY and LIBERATION ARMY DAILY and the journal RED FLAG and the resolutions of the 3d CCP Central Committee plenum. Chinese propaganda ascribes an important program to previously unpublished works by Mao, properly selected and edited (for greater details see the article "Worn Out Tracks," KOMMUNIST, No 9, 1977).

Maoist concepts are the essential foundations of the domestic political program of the new Chinese leadership headed by Hua Kuo-feng. Addressing a conference on 9 May, he stated: "We...will certainly create new circumstances in the national economy-- circumstances of an all-round leap."

The way this is conceived was clarified at that same conference by Minister of National Defense Yeh Chien-ying: "In 1958 Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out that our direction was to organize gradually and systematically the workers (industry), the peasants (agriculture), the tradeworkers (trade), the intellectuals (culture and education), and the soldiers (the militia, i.e., the universal arming of the people) in a huge commune and organize from it the basic unit of our society. Taching and Tachai are precisely examples of this direction." (Note 1), (Taching is an oil field in the north-eastern part of China where workers and employees are engaged not only in petroleum extraction but in the production of the necessary foodstuffs and consumer goods. The "Taching experience" is cited by the Maoists as an example of "relying on one's own forces" and as the "elimination of disparities between town and country." Tachai is a big production brigade in one of the districts of Shansi Province famous as a self-sufficient barracks-type economy, operating virtually without any state outlays, pledged to provide maximal output by confiscating from the peasants all added and even part of the necessary product.)

In other words, the "huge commune" is the country totally converted into barracks. The hundreds of millions of citizens driven into it must live and work under rigid military control.

In the same key the "principal battle tasks" for 1977 were formulated at the conferences on Taching and Tachai as well as at the 3d CCP Central Committee plenum:

Launch in depth a campaign of criticism of the four removed leaders Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, and Yao Wen-yuan; to intensify the "movement" for a Marxist (read Maoist) ideological education," "put in order (read purge) the party ranks and style," "build revolutionary committees at different levels;" expand the campaign of "learning from Tachai in agricultural and from Taching in industry," intensively promote the upsurge of the national economy proceeding from the stipulation of "preparing for war;" and "raise to a new level" the study of the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, particularly Vol 5 of his "Selected Works."

The communique issued by the 3d CCP Central Committee plenum stated that the "strategic direction" formulated by Hua Kuo-feng and the party's Central Committee consists of "achieving stability and unity in the course of the fierce struggle between the two classes and the two lines, strengthen the leadership of the proletariat (i.e., the existing regime--the editors), strengthen and increase the gains of the great proletarian Cultural Revolution, and establish universal order in the country."

The "battle tasks" are closely linked with the introduction of "universal order."

In the absence of a positive program for development of the country, which would attract the broad popular masses, the introduction of "universal order" turns into the intensification of the role of the coercive operators, into purges, repressions, and frightening the population with public executions. In the final account, all this leads to a strict Maoist dictatorship.

Despite demagogic references to Marxism-Leninism, the basic directions followed in the practical activities of China's leadership and the tasks it formulated for 1977 do not as a whole exceed the limits of the previous Maoist course. This means that new privations are awaiting the Chinese people, that the country's national resources will be once again sacrificed to ambitious objectives, and that the efforts of the working people in the PRC will in fact be directed toward preparations for war.

Following Mao Tse-tung's death, in some cases statements and actions of China's leadership, forced to take into consideration the aggravated political and economic difficulties, and the formulation of individual questions began to assume new shades and accents. Initially this gave hope of a possible turn for the better in China and for a gradual abandonment of Maoism.

However, such shades and accents are not backed by any specific measure whatever. They are of a declarative nature. Their purpose is to bill the four removed leaders for the cost of the Maoist course, and open a safety valve for the accumulated discontent within Chinese society. At the same time they clear the way for the even more effective pursuit of the Maoist course.

The study of the tasks related to China's internal development, formulated by the Chinese leadership headed by Hua Kuo-feng, indicates that these tasks are based on Maoist principles in their main and determining aspects. The individual stipulations and verbal promises, used by the Peking leadership for maneuvering purposes, do not change the essence of the matter or insure the Chinese working people any improvement in their situation. This has been confirmed by the practical measures taken by current leadership and the factual situation in the country.

China is continuing to experience serious economic difficulties.

At the end of 1976 the Peking leaders themselves characterized the situation in China's national economy as being a "serious production crisis." In their talks with foreign visitors Hua Kuo-feng and Li Hsien-nien, State Council vice premier, acknowledged that complex problems had arisen in industry and agriculture, including steel production, machinebuilding, and coal and petroleum extraction. Lately similar admissions have also been made.

According to estimates, the 1976 overall volume of industrial output dropped compared with 1975. Steel smelting dropped substantially from 26 to 21 million tons and so did coal extraction, and so on. In April delegates to an all Chinese conference on the dissemination of the Taching experience noted that "last year many plants remained idle over long periods of time."

The situation in agriculture remains complex. Compared with 1975, its 1976 output declined approximately 5 percent. The grain harvest (including potatoes in terms of grain based on the 4:1 coefficient) totaled merely some 225 million tons (235 million tons in 1975) the cotton harvest totaled 1.8 million tons (1.9 million in 1975). The smaller harvest and a threatening drought forced Peking to increase food imports. By July 1977 contracts for the purchase and delivery of about 11 million tons of grain had been concluded with the United States, Australia, Canada and other countries. Simultaneously more rigid measures are being taken to confiscate food products from the Chinese peasants. Under the pretext of the need to eliminate the consequences of the subversive work of the "gang of four" which, allegedly, resulted in the fact that surplus grain was left in the countryside, demands are being formulated to insure to the state grain deliveries by production brigades and to intensify control over the use of grain in the countryside.

In the field of economy Peking's main efforts are focused on normalizing the industrial, construction and transportation enterprises in the course of the campaign for introducing "universal order in the country," and to pull out of the serious difficulties which have developed in the national economy as a result of acute shortages of coal, coke, marketable grain, steel, and equipment.

The failures in the PRC national economy demand the adoption of corresponding measures. Yet, the Peking leaders give priority to postulates such as "take up the class struggle as the decisive link," "continue to the end the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," "politics is a command force," and so on. This prevents cadre workers and working people from concentrating on economic activities.

The ruling group explains all economic troubles as "sabotage by the four," ascribing to it the tremendous losses triggered by the idling of enterprises, and local disturbances and conflicts. Such tactics constitute an effort to conceal the fact that the current difficult situation of China's national economy is the direct result of implementation of Mao Tse-tung's line.

The criticism of the removed leaders is used, among others, for "catching up with lost time as soon as possible," i.e., for purposes of increasing labor intensification and extending the work day without additional pay. [paragraph continues]

The PRC leadership has called upon the entire country to follow "Taching spirit," i.e., "to haul loads on shoulders in the absence of machines," to "begin a revolution with five shovels," and to obey strictly the "ten no's: not to fear difficulties, not to fear death, not to pursue individual glory, not to pursue benefits, not to pay attention to labor conditions, not to pay attention to the duration of the work, not to take wages into consideration, not to take official position into consideration, not to be limited to the range of one's obligations, and not to take into consideration whether this is the 'front' or the 'rear'."

The Peking leadership sees the solution to the problems of agricultural modernization not in mechanization with the extensive assistance of the state but on districts, communes and production brigades relying "on their own forces," and in the fact that "all rayons must extensively develop small industrial enterprises making full use of local resources."

Current policy related to the material condition of the working people remains Maoist in its essence. As we know, in April 1956 Mao Tse-tung stated that he always promotes "the showing of concern for the life of the masses." Subsequently, however, he froze the wages of workers and employees for 20 years and proclaimed any demand for raising the living standard of the working people "revisionism" or "black economism." From time to time the Chinese leaders mentioned that "one must be concerned with the needs of the people's masses and gradually to improve their life on the basis of production development." Such statements were the occasion for a number of foreign bourgeois commentators to launch the version that "pragmatically" Peking is allegedly turning to production and intends substantially to improve the life of the Chinese people. However, virtually, nothing has been done in this field. The present leadership has failed to formulate for the Chinese working people any kind of specific obligations on this account or draw up any kind of real measures.

As before, the material conditions of the Chinese working people remain exceptionally hard. A rigid rationing system remains in the country for basic food and industrial commodities. In some areas calls are made for "tightening one's belt and becoming more active in work in order to support our new Chairman Hua Kuo-feng in this difficult time for our state."

Several decades have passed, yet the wages of the Chinese working people have remained the same: for the lower grades it is 30-34 yuans per month; the highest (8) grade wage is 100 yuans. (Note 2), (100 yuans equal 45 rubles). Students, who account for a considerable percentage of production collectives, continue to be kept artificially in this category and, as a rule, earn 18-22 yuans per month. Following the elimination of the "four" the rumors spread that the wages of some lower category workers have been raised. However, they remained unconfirmed. The growing labor intensification of the workers is not accompanied by any material compensation whatever.

The living standard of the bulk of the peasantry remains extremely low. According to some estimates approximately 25 percent of the present families in the country are unable to feed themselves. [paragraph continues]

The following information on Heilungkiang Province provides an idea of the situation in the countryside: The average value of a day's work is no more than two yuans. However, the sum total must not exceed 200 yuans per year. The wages of cadre workers in big and small brigades, "barefoot physicians," veterinarians, mechanizers, and school teachers are set in such a way as not to exceed the average earnings of production brigade members. Material incentive remains practically unused.

The immediate prospects for upgrading the living standard of the Chinese working people remain unfavorable. The assertion of the Maoist line of "restricting bourgeois law" prevents both the urban and rural population from improving its material conditions. Practical experience confirms that everything is being done to insure higher output and the maximum extraction from industry and agriculture for the purpose of increasing the military potential at the expense of the extreme stress of the physical efforts of the working people and their poor living standard.

The Chinese leadership openly subordinates the development of the PRC national economy to the growth of the military potential.

The course of preparations for war was entered in the PRC Constitution adopted in January 1975, and in the documents of the Ninth and Tenth CCP Congresses.

China's military potential is growing at an accelerated pace. Basic attention is being paid to improving nuclear missile weapons. In the very first months following Mao's death China had three nuclear blasts. Last year a total of four nuclear tests were conducted.

In 1976 direct military outlays accounted for over 40 percent of state budget expenditure, about 50 percent of them being in nuclear missile weapons.

Lately the Chinese leadership has been adamantly asking the West for military aid in terms of procurements of contemporary armaments and combat materiel as well as assistance in the development of military industry sectors. To this effect, in particular, in the course of their talks with Western visitors (Strauss, Thatcher, Schlesinger, and others), joined by Peking's diplomats in Western Europe, they intensively emphasize the "poor outfitting" of the Chinese Army which, allegedly, hinders the countering of the "military threat" of the USSR.

In this connection the trips which Japanese military leaders and specialists have made to the PRC, at Peking's invitation, deserve serious attention. As the Japanese themselves state they had to listen to the "complaints" of the Chinese military concerning the limited combat possibilities of their army.

The Chinese leaders are actively pursuing the course set by Mao Tse-tung of preparations for war, ignoring the fact that this is harming the development of the country's national economy, exhausting its already limited resources, and creating a serious threat both to the immediate neighbors of the PRC as well as to the cause of peace throughout the world.

The economic policy of the present Chinese leadership is contradictory. As before, it is directed toward accelerating the militarization of the country and conflicts with the basic socialist requirement of developing the economy in order to upgrade the prosperity of the people. The Peking leaders support the old Maoist principles. At the same time, however, for the sake of implementing their great power-chauvinistic objectives, they are doing everything possible to accelerate the pace of economic development. China would be unable to achieve tangible progress in its national economy without radical changes in its economic policy.

The new Chinese leadership has begun to proclaim more frequently the need to rely on the working class. However, the factual situation of the workers in Chinese society has remained unchanged. The creation of "new type areas" in which "workers merge with peasants and town with country" is being accelerated. Adding to this the fact that agricultural mechanization is planned mainly on the basis of the construction of small industrial enterprises in communes and brigades "relying on one's own forces," combining work in them with participation in agricultural production (based on the formula of "both worker and peasant"), the problem of consolidating the Chinese working class, and even simply that of its quantitative growth remains far from being resolved.

No data are coming from the PRC on any specific practical steps taken by the new leadership for upgrading the prestige of the working class in society and for creating for it more favorable political, material, and other conditions. The "Cultural Revolution" launched by Mao Tse-tung deprived the Chinese working class of its living detachment--the CCP--as a Marxist-Leninist type party. The trade unions activities were stopped. The labor legislation which guaranteed certain advantages to the workers was not restored. Characteristically, the speeches by the Chinese leaders failed to make even references to trade unions.

The current Chinese leadership has retained the former attitude toward the peasantry. As was the case during Mao's life, the peasantry is being artificially stratified. "Poor peasants" and "lower middle classes" are being singled out and proclaimed as the support of the regime.

Propaganda mentions the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. However, its strengthening is hindered by the already established course of comprehensive application of Taching and Tachai "models." As we know, the economic foundation of the alliance between workers and peasants is the exchange of production between town and country, between the industrial and agricultural sectors. However, Taching and Tachai are closed economic units which must supply themselves with both industrial and agricultural commodities. Therefore, the question of the economic base for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry remains open.

The new leadership speaks of "restoring the proper attitude" towards the intelligentsia which, as the Chinese press recently announced, accounts for over 20 million people. The speeches of Hua Kuo-feng speak of solidarity with the "broad intellectual masses" (speech of 25 December 1976), and the fact that the working class needs "a huge army of its own intelligentsia" (May 1977). The Chinese press carries materials criticizing a number of aspects of Maoist policy in the fields of education and culture. Calls are being heard for the rehabilitation of fallen leaders in this area who were the victims of the "four," as well as of some works of literature and the arts until recently considered "faulty." [paragraph continues]

The slogan of "let 100 flowers bloom and let 100 schools of thought contend" is being propagandized again. Primarily the present leaders would like to win over to their side a certain segment of the intelligentsia for remaining loyal to the basic Maoist course.

Apparently, the former position of the members of the national bourgeoisie which received unearned income and participated in the activities of the power organs including as deputies to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress [CPPCC], and as members of its Permanent Committee, has been retained in the PRC.

Regarding youth, matters are limited to press criticism of some aspects of the Maoist "educational revolution" (assigning the people to schools on the basis of political characteristics regardless of their level of knowledge, abolition of examinations, etc.) A number of articles have contained suggestions on restoring previous procedures (enrollment in higher educational institutions, examinations, etc.) However, they are reflected neither in the speeches of the Peking leadership and official documents nor in the reorganization of schoolwork. The previous situation of "directing literate youth to rural and mountain areas" remains. In 1976 according to Chinese data yet another 2 million "literate young men and women" were sent out of the cities, as a result of which their overall number in the countryside reached 14 million. The young people are faced with the same tasks of making a profound study of the "ideas of Mao Tse-tung," by "obedient buffaloes," and "stainless bulls" in the "multimillion strong army of perpetuators of the revolution."

The system of the country's political administration remains as it developed as a result of the "Cultural Revolution."

The current CCP, numbering in excess of 30 million members, is a political organization building its activities on the basis of the "ideas of Mao Tse-tung." Following the detention of the "four" no substantial changes occurred in the situation and nature of party activities. Leading organs from top to bottom are not elective and there is no periodical accountability by party organs to their organizations.

The activities of state power organs is hindered. The third (since January 1975) session of the permanent committee of the CPPCC was held at the beginning of December 1976. However, no serious decisions whatever, including a decision to fill vacancies to state positions (chairman of the CPPCC Permanent Committee, to replace the deceased Chu Te or fill positions vacant in connection with the fall of the "four" and the purge of their supporters) were made. The CPPCC Permanent Committee is not fulfilling its basic function as stipulated by the constitution (interpretation of the laws and promulgation of ukases). In precisely the same manner almost no specific data are given on the activities of the State Council, or on legislative and administrative work related, among others, to the formulation and ratification of the national economic plans and the state budget, and with control over their execution.

Accusing the "four" of "fascist dictatorship", "suppression" of the democracy, and other similar things, the new leadership, however, does not reveal any intention to restore the democratic norms which existed previously in the PRC including the right to universal elections.

Instability, regular aggravations, riots, and disturbances have remained characteristic of China's domestic political situation for many years. Provincial radio stations have frequently reported clashes. Such materials have appeared in the press. Information spread on the imposition of marshal law in 17 provinces (Fukien, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Hunan, Shansi, Honan, and others), of deploying army subunits in governmental establishments, factories, plants, schools, and villages in these provinces, and of preparations for an "armed mutiny" in Shanghai. At that time the Western news agencies cited reports broadcast by Chinese radio stations on fierce fighting (with casualties) and attacks on government institutions in Wuhan, executions in Hupeh, skirmishes in Szechwan, where "the precious lives of many class brothers were sacrificed," raids on party organs in Shantung and Hunan, "chaos" in Chekiang, and Kweichow, and battles in Paoting.

Chinese propaganda blames all disorders on the "gang of four." Even though the Peking leadership states that at present the eternal situation is "as a whole good," disturbances remain in many provinces. The press ceaselessly calls for "striking of counterrevolutionary elements which are subverting the revolution and production." The army and the public security forces are given direct control over the work of industrial enterprises and transportation facilities.

The factual reasons for the riots and disturbances reside above all in the discontent of the Chinese working people with their situation. The April 1976 disturbances on Tienamen Square represented merely a small part of the movement which spread throughout China, covering over 20 provinces and autonomous districts.

The authorities answer manifestations of discontent by the working people not with socio-economic measures but, as was the case under Mao, with political campaigns, and administrative-coercive measures and repressions conducted with the help of the army and the security forces under the pretext of restoring "general order." Presently the main blow is being dealt on the "four" and their supporters. This is being done under the guise of defending the line and "ideas of Mao Tse-tung." In complete contradiction with the facts the removed leaders are accused of subverting the "Cultural Revolution" and subsequent political campaigns, and opposing Mao's "strategic course" of preparations for war. These and other charges are largely built with the help of the exact wording used by the members of the "foursome" themselves to criticize their rivals. This proves, yet once again, that a struggle is taking place within the Chinese leadership less about a "line," as its participants claim, than among individuals who support the same Maoist platform and are different only in terms of shades and emphasis.

The events in the PRC and personnel changes in its leadership offer no proof of radical changes in the nature of the Maoist regime. As before the objective conditions on which Maoism continues to live parasitically--economic backwardness, predominance of illiterate or semi-illiterate peasantry, weakness and lack of unity in the working class, and continuing nationalistic prejudices remain in China.

Naturally, these circumstances are not eternal. As China develops, the Chinese working class will grow and so will its strength and conscientiousness. It is precisely this that will insure in the future the real socialist development of that country.

II.

Some Aspects of Chinese Foreign Policy

The new Chinese leadership has fully retained the Maoist great power-chauvinistic foreign policy course formulated on a nationalistic basis.

Soon after Mao Tse-tung's death, at the end of October 1976, it pointed out that the pivotal direction of its foreign policy activities was the struggle against the "hegemony of the superpowers" directed mainly against the USSR, as well as its intention to "continue to the end the struggle against contemporary revisionism," i.e., against the international communist movement.

The communique issued at the 3d CCP Central Committee plenum emphasized that the present Peking leaders have the firm intention of pursuing Chairman Mao's line in the field of foreign policy.

So far no positive changes have become apparent in the policy of the Chinese leadership compared with the course pursued by Peking during Mao's life. It is rather the opposite that has happened--a line of further intensification of anti-Soviet attacks, militarization of the country, and closeness with the most reactionary imperialist forces--has been charted. Peking's attacks are not only aimed at the Soviet Union but directly affect nearly all basic directions of the overall coordinated policy of the fraternal socialist states.

Implementing the Maoist foreign political course as a whole without corrections, the Peking leaders go beyond it, even rejecting the former revolutionary camouflage, displaying an even greater desire to come closer to the imperialists.

This further shift can be directly traced along all the main directions of Peking's activities in the international arena. That is precisely why Peking's foreign policy is entering a new stage which is even more hostile and dangerous to the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

In the scale of priorities of Peking's foreign policy, relations with the West have assumed the foreground.

Rejecting the class-proletarian approach to the assessment of basic forces operating in the international arena, today Peking is frankly pursuing a policy of alliances with imperialism and other reaction in the struggle against the socialist community and for the implementation of its great power plants. A trend toward further rapprochement and of broadening the room of "common" or "parallel" international interests of Peking and Washington remains.

The position of the Chinese leadership is reduced to inducing the United States to fight the Soviet Union "edge to edge" on the basis of "common interests" and to do everything possible to provoke a worsening of relations between the United States and the USSR.

In Asia Peking's greatest interest is in Japan. Under the conditions of the strengthening of positions of world socialism on the Asian Continent as a result of the victories of the Vietnamese and Lao peoples, Peking's favoring of a Japanese-American military alliance and the aspirations of Japanese capitalism to gain a hold in Southeast Asia are noteworthy. Peking's course toward Japan is aimed at supporting in that country forces favoring militarization and revanchism. It harms the interests of socialism and peace in Asia.

Under the present leadership, China's policy toward Western Europe continues to be based on hostility toward the socialist community. Peking urges on the reactionary circles of Western Europe countries to frustrate detente and to increase confrontation with the socialist states. As before, Chinese propaganda claims that the Helsinki conference had "brought nothing positive" to the situation in Europe, and that Europe remains "the main potential center of a world-wide cataclysm."

The rapprochement between Peking and the Western European members of NATO is taking place under the pretext of strengthening the "common safety" facing the allegedly growing threat on the part of the Warsaw Pact.

Peking is encouraging NATO's military preparations and arms race. It established contacts with the headquarters of this imperialist bloc. As early as 1975 and ever since then, essentially, Peking has coordinated with it its actions and propaganda. This became most clearly apparent in Peking's approval of NATO's negative reaction to the suggestion formulated by the socialist community of concluding a ~~treaty~~ on the nonuse of nuclear weapons first, and the attacks launched by Chinese propaganda against the initiative of the socialist states in connection with talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in central Europe.

As before, Peking relies on the most reactionary circles of the capitalist countries in its struggle against positive trends in Europe.

The FRG remains Peking's focal point of attention. Relations with it are developing more intensively and comprehensively than with other Western European countries. Here the Chinese leadership provides particular support to the revanchist forces which are striving not only toward the assumption of power but the restructuring of European boundaries as well.

For relying on rightwing opposition parties in the FRG, the Chinese leaders do not forget the British Conservatives and their American supporters. Last April, in a talk with Tory leader M. Thatcher, Li Hsien-nien noted that he had "much in common" with her on a number of important international problems and the joint desire to counter the policy of detente "of which there could be no question." He also assured U.S. representatives that American troops "should not be withdrawn" from Europe since, allegedly, they "unquestionably play a positive role."

The hope of aggravating circumstances in Europe, of blocking the initiatives of the socialist countries to develop political and economic cooperation with the capitalist countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and of hindering the successful holding of the Belgrade meeting of representatives of countries signatory to the final act of the European conference in Helsinki play an important role in Peking's contacts with representatives of extreme right circles in West European countries.

The new Chinese leadership is striving ever more openly to subordinate to its influence the developing countries for the sake of the implementation of its hegemonic plans. It is continuing to use the economic, technical, and military aid it grants to strengthen its positions in the Third World.

Peking is disorienting the developing countries. Under the mask of "antihegemonism" it is trying to involve them in a confrontation with the socialist states, and draw them away from the struggle against imperialism, apartheid, and racism, and for the final elimination of all vestiges of colonialism.

In this case Peking is showing its solidarity with reactionary proimperialist regimes and its hostility toward progressive Third World forces.

Proclaiming in words its "firm support" of the developing countries, the Chinese leadership is in fact showing an indifference toward their real concerns and needs. It is noteworthy that the PRC delegation to the United Nations abstained from voting on resolutions concerning the situation in the Middle East and on a peaceful conference for settling the crisis in that area. The Peking leaders are trying to pour oil in the fire of the Egyptian-Libyan and Ethiopian-Sudanese conflicts. They are trying to slander the policy of the USSR toward the Arab countries.

No less demagogical is Peking's position on matters of the establishment of a new international economic structure. According to its statements it is the most firm defender of the oppressed of developing countries. In reality, however, the Chinese leadership is trying to extract maximum benefits for itself, claiming the role of an umpire and middleman between these countries and monopoly capital.

In order to conceal its differences with Third World countries, particularly in the United Nations, and, at the same time, help the West, China frequently avoids a clear statement of its position (in the 31st General Assembly its representatives preferred to abstain from voting on 20 out of 79 resolutions).

The Chinese leaders are continuing to pursue a reactionary policy toward the developing countries, hostile to the cause of socialism and exclusively to the advantage of imperialist and neocolonialist circles and their agents in the Third World.

The essence of Peking's policy is clearly manifested in its approach to a number of topical general information problems.

Using the advance of the enemies of peace in the West, and giving them all-round support, the Maoists are trying to turn back the process of detente. On this level they camouflage their activities with false tirades: The policy of detente, they claim, has not passed the test of time; it is nothing other than a screen hiding "Soviet expansion and aggression." Allegedly, the European conference was sterile, being a "conference of danger."

The position of the Chinese authorities is negative and, frequently, provocative on all basic contemporary problems. In its most concentrated aspect this is manifested in the activities of the Chinese delegation to the United Nations. Ever since 1971, when the right of the PRC to UN membership was restored, it has failed to submit a single constructive proposal. It has failed to formulate a single positive initiative in favor of universal peace and international cooperation.

Excluding representatives of Pinochet's clique and the South African racists, the Chinese delegation was the only one to oppose the proposals formulated by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on convening a worldwide development conference; on the peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis; on proposing a total ban on the production and use of nuclear weapons; on banning the production of new types of mass destruction weapons; on banning the deployment of nuclear and missile weapons in space and on the ocean floor; on the known use of nuclear weapons first; and others.

Engaged in active military preparation, Peking is adamantly resisting any measure in the field of disarmament. It has still not assumed any obligations banning or limiting the development and use of mass destruction weapons.

Peking is opposing just as adamantly the appeals of peace-loving countries to strengthen security in Asia through the collective efforts of all countries on this continent and to assert in relations among them in principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

Acting under the false banner of "struggle against superpower hegemony," Peking is trying to counter the general course followed by the socialist states toward detente and disarmament and towards strengthening the political and economic independence of developing countries. It is drawing ever more closely to imperialist forces.

However greatly the interests of the Chinese leadership may coincide with those of the imperialists, their conspiracy is facing the obstacle of the changed ratio of class forces in the international arena and the coordinated policy of the members of the socialist community.

The foreign political course pursued by the PRC in the post Mao Tse-tung period is characterized by unrestrained hostility toward the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and increased subversive activities aimed at weakening the socialist community.

The Chinese leadership is continuing its divisive policy of "differentiated approach" to the socialist states, acting in this case in an even more subtle manner than in the past. Peking sees as its task to break the unity among the fraternal countries and undermine their coordinated course. It is trying to convince individual socialist countries of the allegedly existing "real possibility to develop all-round cooperation" with them for retaining its hostile course toward the socialist community as a whole and the USSR in particular.

The Maoists' increasing anticomunism is manifested above all in Peking's reaction to the growing influence of the socialist community in the world. The new Chinese leadership fears the impact which the example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has on the working people in the PRC.

The Maoists are particularly concerned with the successes achieved by the socialist countries in the struggle for peace and detente, and their role in insuring the positive results of the European conference, as well as their achievements in raising the material and cultural living standards of the working people.

At the beginning of the year the Chinese leadership launched a propaganda attack on a number of socialist countries essentially coordinated with imperialism. Together with the Western anticomunists it openly took the side of various types of renegades.

Peking intensified its attacks on the collective organs for cooperation among socialist countries--the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, slanderously describing them as tools for the "enslavement" of the peoples of other countries by the Soviet Union.

The escalation of Peking's subversive efforts against the members of the socialist community represents a real threat both to their unity and to the national interests of each of the fraternal states.

The present Chinese leadership is continuing the old subversive and divisive line toward the world's communist movement. After Mao Tse-tung's death Peking repeatedly asserted its intention to continue its struggle against the Marxist-Leninist parties and to strengthen the detachments of its supporters.

New attempts are being undertaken to consolidate and expand Maoist groups in other countries as Peking's tools in the international arena. The Maoists of many European countries have held international meetings; Maoist groups have held "unification congresses" in several countries (Britain, the United States, Italy, and others).

The events related to the elimination of the "gang of four" created feelings of mistrust toward the Chinese leadership on the part of foreign Maoists. This alarmed Peking. Discord among pro-Peking organizations is intensified by the existing Sino-Albanian contradictions which have become noticeably aggravated of late.

The course followed by the Chinese leadership, hostile to the cause of peace and socialism, has been firmly condemned by the absolute majority of communists and workers parties and by progressive leaders of many countries. Peking's foreign political line pursued in the past 15 years has been thoroughly discredited throughout the world.

The words and actions of the Chinese leadership which replaced Mao Tse-tung confirmed the correctness and topical nature of the principled assessments of the theory and practice of Maoism made at fraternal party congresses. Peking's feverish attempts to wreck detente, prevent disarmament, implant mistrust and hostility among countries, and its aspirations to provoke a world war and warm its hands on the flames of this conflagration represent a great danger to all peace-loving nations. Peking's provocative policy is profoundly contradictory to the interests of all nations and must be rebuffed.

### III. Maoism--An Ideology Hostile to Marxism-Leninism

The publication of Mao's "Selected Works" in five volumes, the speeches by officials, the materials of the last CCP Central Committee plenum, and the direction already given for the forthcoming 11th CCP Congress confirmed that the Chinese leadership has retained its full loyalty to the Maoist principles. The Peking leaders intend to continue to speculate on the high prestige of Marxism-Leninism and of the ideas of socialism among the Chinese people. It is no accident that they present Mao as "the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our epoch" who allegedly "made an outstanding contribution to all fields of Marxism-Leninism--philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism--and tremendously enriched the theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism." In this case he is immediately praised for turning China and the CCP from a policy of friendship and cooperation with the Marxist-Leninist parties and the USSR to a policy of confrontation and division. All this is described as Mao's great contribution to the "struggle against contemporary revisionism."

Statements by Chinese leaders and Chinese propaganda repeat the hegemonic objectives of Maoist policy with the complete set of strategic and practical lines aimed at the struggle against the communist movement and the world socialist system, presenting the main Maoist postulates of petty bourgeois barracks socialism and confirming the methodological foundations for Maoism.

Under the new Peking leadership Maoism remains one of the varieties of anticomunism. It closely interacts with the anticomunism of the imperialist bourgeoisie and with purely reactionary and extremist forces. Maoist anticomunism is distinguished by extreme chauvinism, Sinocentrism, anti-Sovietism and aggressive hegemonism. It uses state and cooperative ownership for antipeople's objectives which have nothing in common with scientific socialism.

The Maoists' basic methods and forms of anticomunism were, and remain, slandering the domestic and foreign policy of the members of the socialist community, and ideological subversion directed against the world communist movement.

The characteristic feature of the anticomunist position taken by the Chinese leaders is the fact that they are opposing in all possible ways the basic tasks formulated by the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries in the building of a developed socialist society and the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism. The slanderous Maoist assertions of the "degeneration of the society" in the socialist countries are a backing for reactionary imperialist ideologs and politicians in their attempts to defame the democratic and human nature of real socialism, and to belittle the fact that the ruling fraternal parties focus their attention on the people, and on their concern for such selection of the people's material and spiritual needs.

Acting in harmony with imperialist propaganda, the Maoists help the ruling circles in the capitalist countries to distract the attention of the peoples from explaining the reasons for the economic crisis in those countries and determining the real culprits for the calamities which imperialism is bringing to millions of working people.

Maoism has joined the anticommunism of the capitalist world. It has become the accomplice of imperialism in stupefying the working people in the capitalist countries.

Maoism draws closer to "leftwing" and rightwing revisionism. It supports all enemies of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and scientific communism. Rightwing opportunistic sallies on Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism have intensified under the influence of Maoist ideology and politics. Maoist formulations are being used ever more actively to justify all kinds of nationalist manifestations, and to reject the common laws governing the socialist revolution and the building of the new society and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

It is precisely the Maoists who divide Marxism-Leninism into "general" and "particular" principles and favor the carving up of this international doctrine among various "national apartments."

It is precisely Maoism, concealed behind Marxist phraseology, that is one of the fierce enemies of proletarian internationalism and a creature of national narrowmindedness and isolation. Maoism is waging its struggle against proletarian internationalism from the positions of Great Han chauvinism. It is trying simultaneously to heat up and use nationalistic vestiges in the minds of individual groups of people in the socialist countries. The main strategic line in the subversive activities conducted by the Maoists against the socialist community is to implant hostility and alienation among the peoples of the socialist countries.

The experience of the struggle waged against Maoism in recent years has convincingly proved to all Marxists-Leninists both the exceptional significance of the principles of proletarian internationalism as well as the importance of the proper correlation between the international and the national in the activities of each party and of every communist.

The experience of the Chinese Revolution and the lessons from the events of the 1960's-1970's in China confirmed the practical consequences to the CCP and the cause of socialism in the country of replacing internationalism with nationalism. Proletarian internationalism and support of the world's communist and workers movements played a particularly important role in the victory of the Chinese Revolution. It was precisely international solidarity and close alliance with world socialism that compensated for the relative weakness of the Chinese proletariat and helped to establish its leading role in terms of the peasantry and hold back the pressure of the petty bourgeois element and the ideology of nationalism on the workers and the CCP, and which contributed to upgrading the political prestige and weight of the working class. Following the victory of the revolution in China cooperation and close alliance with world socialism insured the protection of the young PRC from imperialist aggression, and neutralized the economic blockade of the PRC organized by U.S. imperialism.

The history of the Chinese Revolution and of the CCP shows that it was precisely whenever that party supported the principle of proletarian internationalism firmly and systematically that it achieved its highest successes in the revolution and the building of socialism.

Maoist ideology and politics are directed against the basic directions of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, against the very essence of socialism and against the foundations of the international communist movement. Any conciliation with them could turn into a form of opportunism. Bearing this in mind we cannot fail to see how topical is the struggle against Maoist attempts to assist in the manifestation and proliferation of all types of nationalistic distortions.

To the world revolutionary movement and all truly democratic forces the struggle against Maoism is becoming now an inseparable part of the struggle of the peoples. This struggle is of a principled nature and its prime importance to China itself and the Chinese people lies, above all, in the fact that it pursues the objective of defending the socialist future of the PRC.

The study of China's domestic and foreign policy indicates that, as before, Peking's course is a great-power chauvinistic course and, in the final account, is aimed at establishing worldwide hegemony.

Without abandoning their basic Maoist postulates China's present leaders are forced to consider in their policy to a certain extent a number of unresolved problems. Certain differences exist among the Peking leadership concerning the ways and means for their resolution. The plans and objectives of the present CCP leadership contain the embryos of new differences, contradictions and conflicts.

Currently the bourgeois Sinologists and journalists are discussing very actively the alleged "de-Maoization" taking place in China. So far, however, there are no grounds to assume that China is turning away from Maoism and resuming the path of scientific socialism.

Clear criteria exist enabling us to determine accurately such a turn, should it occur: the general laws governing the socialist revolution and the development of the new system, as codified in the documents of the international communist movement. It will be possible to speak of China's return to scientific socialism only when its leaders will show their intention to base their activities on the time vested Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This could take place only if they proceed from the basic interests of the Chinese people and if, as was stated at Marxist-Leninist party congresses, Peking were to return to a policy truly based on Marxism-Leninism, abandon a course hostile to the socialist countries, and take the path of cooperation and solidarity with them.

Historical experience, particularly that of the past 20 years, confirms most clearly the fact that China cannot come out of its backwardness along the Maoist path and that Maoism contradicts the objective requirements governing the development of the country and the expectations of the Chinese people. The working people of the PRC are unwilling to tolerate existing living and working conditions. So far their actions remain unorganized and spontaneous. However, their tendency to grow remains. The basic contradiction which triggers China's domestic political instability is not a conflict between "leftist" and "pragmatists" or among any other Maoist groups, but a conflict between the interests of the broad toiling masses aspiring toward a secure and democratic life and Maoism which dooms the Chinese people to endless privations and worthlessness.

Mao's death neither did nor could automatically bring about the surmounting of Maoism as one of the ideologies hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

The present global circumstances face the peoples the world over with the need to counteract Peking's international policy and to systematically expose it as a most important problem. Hiding behind anti-Sovietism, the present Chinese leadership is encroaching on the interests of the socialist states and attacking their community. It is engaged in subversive activities within the communist movement and is openly acting against the fighters for national liberation. Under the banner of anti-Sovietism it is trying to undermine detente and to aggravate world circumstances to the limit.

Peking is trying to push the world into a new world war. In this matter the Chinese leadership is enjoying the support of imperialism and of the forces of extreme reaction and anticomunism. Such a policy, concealed behind anti-Soviet slogans, represents a growing danger to the cause of peace and detente and to the interests of all peoples. It would be an unforgivable error to assume an impartial position until this danger reaches fatal dimensions.

The analysis of events in the PRC after Mao Tse-tung's death and the study of the domestic and foreign policies of the new Peking leadership indicate that the latter is trying to follow the Maoist line without Mao, i.e., to pursue a course which has already forced the Chinese people to make many sacrifices and suffer losses, and which has been a real tragedy for them.

The 25th CPSU Congress formulated a clear, principled line on the problem of relations with the PRC. The Soviet people sincerely sympathize with the Chinese working people who are experiencing hard times. Yet, the Soviet people are profoundly convinced that this dark page in Chinese development will be turned and that, closely united with all socialist and anti-imperialist forces, the PRC will take the path of scientific socialism.

China's future belongs to socialism. One must not lose the hope that the Chinese people, tired of Maoist voluntarism, will have their say.

As regards relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC, our position is well known, as recently stated by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. We favor the normalizing of intergovernmental relations with China. The resumption of true good neighborly relations between our countries would be of great significance not only to the USSR and the PRC but to the improvement of the overall international situation.

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## HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE LENINIST PARTY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 77 pp 122-124

[Review by K. Gusev, doctor of historical sciences, of the textbook "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], fifth expanded edition. The textbook was prepared by the following collective of authors: Academician B. N. Ponomarev (head), Doctor of Historical Sciences M. S. Volin, Doctor of Historical Sciences V. S. Zaytsev, Academician I. I. Mints, Doctor of Historical Sciences A. D. Pedosov, Doctor of Historical Sciences V. I. Popov, Doctor of Historical Sciences L. A. Slepov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. I. Sobolev, Doctor of Historical Sciences K. I. Suvorov, and Doctor of Historical Sciences B. S. Tel'pukhovskiy. Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, 782 pp]

[Text] This year the Soviet people and all progressive mankind are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Having eliminated the exploitation of man by man in a huge country covering one sixth of the globe, it changed the course of universal history radically and inaugurated a new epoch, that of transition from capitalism to socialism on a universal scale. The longer the time which has passed since this outstanding date, the clearer the greatness of the October Revolution becomes, as does its role as the main event in the 20th century.

As the CPSU Central Committee Decree on the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution stresses, it won out because it was headed by a party of a new type, created by the great Lenin and embodying the revolutionary energy of the most progressive class of our time -- the working class.

The CPSU has covered a path of heroic struggle and severe trials, the path of the universal-historical victories of socialism and communism. Addressing ourselves to the history of the Leninist party is always an important and topical task.

The book being reviewed discusses the historical path covered by our party from its inception to its conversion into the great guiding and directing force of the developed socialist society. Its newest edition covers CPSU

activities through the 25th party congress. New documents have been taken into consideration, along with the remarks and suggestions made in the course of the discussions of the textbook. Additions have been made to the interpretation of a number of problems.

The authors trace the development of the party from a few Marxist circles to a multimillion-strong ruling party; they bring to light the basic directions in its activities and its political line at each historical stage; the strengthening and advancement of the party's organizational foundations, the expansion of its social base, and its tremendous creative contribution to Marxist theory; the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle and the building of the new society; foreign political activities and efforts designed to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the international communist and workers' movements. The idea of the implementation of Lenin's concepts and his immortal legacy runs throughout the entire book.

The book reveals one of the basic Leninist stipulations profoundly and comprehensively. On the eve of the overthrow of capitalist power, Lenin wrote: "Training a workers' party, Marxism is training a proletarian vanguard capable of seizing power and leading the entire people to socialism, of directing and organizing the new system, of being the teacher, guide, and leader of all working and exploited people in the organization of their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 33, p 26).

The chapters dealing with the pre-October period focus on three main problems. First they deal with Lenin's elaboration of the organizational, theoretical, and ideological foundations of the party of a new type, and, on this basis, the creation of the party itself, radically different from the right-wing opportunistic and reformist social democratic parties of the Second International. Secondly, they take up Lenin's development of the theory of the socialist revolution, including problems of the role of the working class and its allies, the characteristics of imperialism, and the growth of the bourgeois-democratic into a socialist revolution. Thirdly, they deal with the struggle waged by the party, headed by Lenin, for the overthrow of the exploiting system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The authors depict the role of the alliance between the working class and the poorest peasantry in the victory of the October Revolution, and they comprehensively analyze the deployment of class forces and the forms of struggle, or, in other words, the whole complex of objective and subjective prerequisites which ensured the establishment of the Soviet system as the embodiment of the highest type of democracy -- the socialist democracy of the working people.

The comprehensive experience of the CPSU as a ruling party is covered in detail. It "faced new historical problems: the building and strengthening of the Soviet state, the restructuring of society on a socialist basis, the

organization of the protection of the country against hostile capitalist encirclement, the strengthening of relations with the proletariat in other countries, and support of it" (p 227). Historical experience proves that the party's struggle in connection with the signing of the Brest peace treaty revealed the total lack of a basis for petit bourgeois "left-wing" revolutionism and the theory and tactics of the "left-wing communists" who claimed that "the interests of international revolution do not permit the Soviet state to make agreements with the imperialists, and the Soviet state cannot exist in a state of capitalist encirclement." This confirmed the correctness of Lenin's foreign policy (p 241).

It was basically at that time that the party proclaimed peaceful coexistence as one of the basic principles in relations among countries with different social systems. Peaceful coexistence contributes to the achievement of success in the building of socialism. This success, in turn, influences the upsurge of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the intensification of the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples.

Describing the Leninist plan for the building of socialism in the USSR, the authors stress that Lenin, who had high regard for the practical experience of the masses, in which he saw the concentrated collective mind of the people, pointed out the need for the ever more extensive involvement of the working people in conscious historical creativity. It was precisely the active participation of the tremendous mass of working people, led by the party, and their creative initiative, which made possible the successful building of socialism.

The book reflects the heroism of the party members and the outstanding role of the CPSU in organizing the defeat of fascism in the Great Patriotic War, and the universal-historical significance of this victory. The authors depict how the party organizations participated in the conduct of combat operations, both those previously covered in historical-party literature and those unmentioned to date. These include the heroic defense of the "Malaya Zemlya" in the suburbs of Novorossiysk by the 18th army, the political department of which was commanded at that time by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The CPSU Central Committee Decree on the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution points out that the recent period has taken "an outstanding place in the heroic chronicle of the building of communism because of its saturation with events of tremendous historical significance to the life of the country and in the international arena, and the large-scale complex socioeconomic development inherent in the mature socialist society." The events of that period had extensive reverberations all over the world. They included the October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 23rd, 24th, and 25th party congresses, the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the founding of the USSR, and the centennial anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. The new chapters in the book depict the tremendous significance of the party documents pertaining to these

events in terms of the practical activities of the party and the people in building communism and the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The importance of the 24th CPSU Congress, which asserted the basic conclusion that a developed socialist society had been built in the USSR, opening up a broad path of gradual transition to communism, has been profoundly and comprehensively depicted. "This," states the draft of the USSR Constitution, "is a society of mature socialist social relations, in which a new historical community -- the Soviet people -- appeared, on the basis of the rapprochement of all social strata and the juridical and factual equality of all nations and nationalities."

The activities of the party for the implementation of the decisions of the 24th congress, its economic strategy and agrarian policy, improved management of the national economy, and the making of a sharp turn toward the upgrading of the effectiveness of all social production are described on a broad scale. The party ensured the growth of the political consciousness and ideological arming of the Soviet people, the upsurge of the creative initiative of the masses, and the development of nationwide socialist competition. The parts describing the party's activities for the expansion and intensification of socialist democracy provide the leaders with a clear idea of how, with the building of mature socialism and the conversion of all population strata to the ideological and political positions of the working class, our state, which developed as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, grew into the state of the whole people.

Great attention is being devoted to the purposeful and energetic struggle waged by the CPSU for the successful implementation of the tasks formulated in the peace program. The further increase in the international prestige of the USSR, the strengthening of the socialist comity, and the conversion from international tension to detente, which is becoming the leading trend in the relations among countries with different social systems, are the main results of the party's foreign political activities in the first half of the 1970's.

A separate chapter details the historical significance of the 25th CPSU Congress. The party's Central Committee accountability report, which was presented at the congress by L. I. Brezhnev, has been justifiably described as the manifesto of developed socialism. The authors show that the party's course, as formulated at the 25th congress, is oriented toward the immediate solution of problems related to the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism, the further strengthening of the economic and defense power of the country, the improvement of socialist social relations, the development of science and culture and the Soviet way of life, and the molding of the new man.

The party's economic strategy as adopted by the congress is the embodiment and development of the Leninist principles of socialist economic management under contemporary conditions. It is directed toward the achievement of basic long-term objectives, the highest of which is a steady upsurge in the

material and cultural living standard of the people. The congress profoundly and comprehensively substantiated the ways and means of implementing these objectives -- dynamic and proportional development of public production, its upgraded effectiveness, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, increased labor productivity, and all-round improvement in the quality of the work at all national economic levels.

The 25th congress adopted a program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples. It demonstrated that the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity are reliably retaining the foreign political initiative. The Soviet Union and the fraternal countries have submitted constructive proposals on practically all of the major problems in contemporary international policy and on the basic problems in the struggle to strengthen peace and limit the arms race.

The efforts of the CPSU, its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, personally, are directed toward making the peace truly lasting and inviolable, converting detente into a universal and irreversible process, and ensuring its growth into a system of stable, fruitful, and equal peaceful coexistence among countries. The Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, which was held soon after the 25th CPSU Congress, was a major contribution to the solution of this problem and to uniting communists the world over in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism. The final chapter of the book contains an analysis of its course and results.

The entire contents of the book prove that the history of the CPSU is the embodiment of the unity of theory and practice. Aimed at a broad circle of readers, the work focuses attention on the results of the heroic path trod by the Leninist party, the description and substantiation of its theoretical, political, economic, ideological, and organizational activities at different historical stages, and the enduring significance of the experience gained in its struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. This scientific work equips us with a knowledge of the laws governing social development, for the party's history is a great lesson in determining the laws of the revolutionary process and the building of a socialist and communist society, and their practical application. The authors depict the continuity of the Leninist political course, which is currently creatively embodied in the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress and the draft of the new USSR Constitution, which provides an expanded characterization of the leading and guiding role of the communist party.

The publication of the fifth edition of "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" is a noteworthy milestone in the development of our historical-party science and a step forward toward the solution of the important and topical problem of helping the builders of a communist society to master Marxist-Leninist theory, the life-giving force of which is vividly demonstrated by the history of our great Leninist party.

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## ON THE PATH TOWARD CHANGE

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[Review by V. Kas'yanenko, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Istoriya Sotsialisticheskoy Ekonomiki SSSR" [History of the Socialist Economy of the USSR]. In seven volumes. Vol 1: "Sovetskaya Ekonomika v 1917-1920 gg." [The Soviet Economy in 1917-1920]. Vol 2: "Perekhod k Nepy. Vosstanovleniye Narodnogo Khozyaystva SSSR, 1921-1925 gg." [Conversion to the NEP. Restoration of the USSR National Economy, 1921-1925], Nauka, Moscow, 1976. Editors: USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member V. A. Vinogradov, Doctor of Economic Sciences Yu. F. Vorob'yev, Doctor of Economic Sciences I. A. Gladkov (editor in chief), Doctor of Economic Sciences Ye. I. Kapustin, Academician N. N. Nekrasov, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member A. I. Pashkov, Academician N. P. Fedorenko, and Doctor of Economic Sciences V. N. Cherkovets]

[Text] The work "Istoriya Sotsialisticheskoy Ekonomiki SSSR," published by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and Izdatel'stvo Nauka, deals with the scientific summation of the extremely rich experience acquired by the CPSU and the Soviet state in the building and development of the socialist economy and the description of its advantages as compared with the capitalist economy. This is the first time that such a basic work on the history of the Soviet national economy has been published.

The first two volumes published cover the period from October 1917 to 1925. They depict the outstanding role played by V. I. Lenin as the theoretician and organizer of the Soviet socialist economic system, and his participation in the elaboration and practical implementation of the economic program of the October Revolution. These books describe the many-sided political and organizational-economic activities of the communist party and Soviet state which, on the basis of the Leninist plan for building socialism, made revolutionary changes in industry, agriculture, transportation, and finance. These changes ensured that the Soviet state would have the type of economic command levels and levers, by means of which the national economy was successfully restored. The mixed economy was converted into a socialist economy.

Guiding the first revolutionary steps of the Soviet system in the field of economics, the party, headed by Lenin, substantially enriched Marxism and

brought about a decisive turn in the study of the economic problems posed by life itself and the practice of building socialism. It was precisely then that a scientific methodology for the solution of the economic problems of the transitional period began to develop. Its formation took place under the conditions of sharp struggle against antiparty elements and surmounting the bourgeois concepts of the country's economic development.

Immediately following the victory of the Great October Revolution, the party had to organize the economic life of the young Soviet society in practical terms, on basically new foundations, and to develop a system of production management. "This," Lenin noted, "is a most difficult task, for it is a question of the reorganization of the most basic economic foundations of the lives of tens of millions of people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 173). The first volume of the monograph traces the initial measures adopted by the Soviet system to lay the foundations of a socialist economy -- agrarian changes, nationalization of the banks, and establishment of a new financial system, nationalization of big industry and transportation, organization of food supplies, and the establishment of the state foreign trade monopoly.

Along with suppressing the opposition of the exploiters, the Soviet state paid ever greater attention to the development of new economic relations, and to organizing the toiling masses for the solution of economic problems. The authors describe the way communist subbotniks became widespread following the publication of Lenin's "The Great Initiative." Following the party's appeal, an all-Russian subbotnik was held on 1 May 1920. In Moscow and Petrograd alone, more than 590,000 people participated. Subbotniks became one of the first forms of socialist competition. The development of the creative initiative of the masses brought to life a number of new forms of struggle to upgrade labor productivity and its socialist organization. After playing an historical role in the victory of socialism, competition has now become a powerful motive force in the building of communism.

Part Two of the first volume sums up the experience in mobilizing the national economy for the defense of the Soviet republic during the period of foreign intervention and civil war. The establishment of the fraternal alliance among the peoples of the country and between the workers and the peasants, the implementation of an economic and social policy consistent with the interests of the working people, and the laying of the foundations for the socialist economy were of decisive importance to winning the victory over the interventionists and the White Guards. Without the laying of such foundations and beginning to build the new economy, as Lenin pointed out, we could have been crushed in the very first months, the first years (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, p 75).

The gigantic inspirational and organizational role of the communist party in all fields of economic life is revealed in the chapters describing the strengthening of the Soviet rear, the development of production for the

front, the organization of food supplies, the work of the transportation system, and the supplying of the army and the population. The comprehensive activities of the Defense Council, headed by Lenin, are thoroughly covered. This was the military-economic and planning center of the republic at that time. It was then that the workers of Petrograd, Moscow, Tula, Nizhniy Novgorod, and other industrial centers provided unforgettable models of labor heroism. Members of all the nations of our fatherland joined in the battle for peace, bread, land, and Soviet power.

Under complex war conditions, as described in the book, the building of socialism did not stop. Public ownership developed. The shoots of the new system sprouted and multiplied in all national economic sectors. The socialist production organization of the nationalized enterprises was strengthened.

Lenin and the party devoted particular concern to the plan for the electrification of Russia (the GOELRO plan). The last chapter of Volume One describes the history of its formulation, which involved the participation of the best scientific and organizational forces in the country, and the basic tasks and functions carried out in elaborating the theory of planning and initiating the implementation of the plan. "The Leninist plan for the electrification of Russia," the authors state, "was the first plan in the world to embody the general Marxist concept of large-scale machine industry as the material foundation for socialism in specific assignments for the socialist reorganization and technical reconstruction of the entire national economy on the basis of progressive technology and the country's electrification" (p 428). Adopted in the heat of the civil war, the plan confirmed the adamant belief of the party in victory and the clarity of the prospects for the further building of socialism.

The GOELRO plan played an outstanding role in the development of socialist planning. For the first time, an expanded scientific characterization of the material and technical base of socialism in Russia was provided. Practical ways and means were earmarked for its creation, and specific tasks were assigned to the various economic sectors and large segments of the country. The GOELRO plan called for the surmounting of the contradictions between the progressive Soviet political system and the backward material base; it embodied Lenin's idea of the decisive significance of the accelerated pace of economic progress, the role of the achievements of science and technology and their active application, and others. The plan called for the intensive and equal utilization of natural and manpower resources, the rational location of production forces, and the comprehensive utilization of the resources of all republics and parts of the country.

The Leninist plan for the electrification of the Soviet state was of tremendous international significance. It showed the entire world that the state of the workers and peasants gives priority to building tasks. History completely confirmed the correctness and realistic nature of this plan, and demonstrated the lack of any justification for its critics.

The first volume ends with a study of the basic results of the country's electrification. It would have been expedient had the general results of the economic activities of the party and the state between 1917 and 1920 been summarized at the end of the volume, and had the international significance of the experience acquired during that time been described. Unfortunately, this has not been done, and the initial stage of the economic history of the USSR does not seem to be bracketed by general theoretical assessments. Some such assessments can be found "scattered" throughout the chapters.

The second volume is a study of the economic development of the country from 1921 to 1925 -- a complex and difficult period in the building of socialism, when the party was faced with the need to resolve new problems having to do with the conversion from war to peaceful construction and the sharp turn from "war communism" to the NEP.

The New Economic Policy was a major contribution to the creative development of Marxism. This theoretically and practically substantiated policy was designed to strengthen the alliance between the workers and the peasants, to involve the toiling peasantry in the building of socialism through cooperatives, and to resolve the strategic problem of the transitional period -- the building of socialism through the joint efforts of all working people. The book describes the ways and means of resolving the basic "who-whom" problem of the transitional period. It describes the nature of the Leninist doctrine of state capitalism, and shows how the party implemented a policy of restricting and curtailing capitalist elements in all economic areas (see pp 163-184).

The authors cover a number of problems in Soviet economic management, not only in the narrow sense of the term, such as the restructuring of the organizational framework of the administrative apparatus (the Higher Council of the National Economy and its local organs, and the creation of trusts and syndicates), but also in the broader sense of the term, covering above all problems in national economic planning from the initial steps to the creation of the Gosplan. They describe the process of establishing the whole system of national economic management, based on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism. The role of commodity-monetary relations, the need for which is one of the foundations of Lenin's theory of the NEP, is clarified.

The authors describe the economic activities of the Soviet state and the development of its economic-organizational function in detail. Extensive factual data are used to trace the implementation of the Leninist national policy, the growth of fraternal cooperation, and the strengthening of mutual aid among peoples in the struggle for an upsurge in the country's economy, and to equalize the levels of economic development in previously backward outlying national areas.

Particular attention is devoted to the problem of improving the material situation of the working people. The most important result of the restoration period was the strengthening and consolidation of the working

class. By 1926, the country already had nearly 2.5 million workers. Unemployment was disappearing. Extensive work was being done in the fields of social security and labor safety. Radical changes were coming about in housing and living conditions, and in the organization of health care and public catering. The wages of low-paid workers increased considerably. The authors give data on the emergence and development of the system of vocational-technical training. Between 1921 and 1929, the factory and plant schools established at the end of 1920 had trained more than 100,000 skilled workers. This fact played a substantial role in the industrialization of the country. The materials contained in a number of chapters prove that from the very first days of the revolution, the party regarded the upgrading of the prosperity of the working people as its primary duty.

The two volumes describe the leading and guiding role of the party in formulating and implementing in practice the means of effecting the socialist reorganization of the economy and the the further creative elaboration of the Leninist plan for building socialism in our country. The stages in the building of socialism are described, with their characteristics. The authors show the continuity in the party's economic strategy designed to achieve the victory of socialism, and the unity and differences in its economic policy in the separate periods.

The volumes published thus far have the merit of making extensive use of Lenin's legacy. Much use has been made of numerous party documents, such as the decisions of congresses and conferences and Central Committee plenums, and local party and soviet organs, as well as scientific works. In our view, the subsequent volumes should single out, perhaps in separate sections (by period), problems in the development of the science of economics, depicting the contribution made by Soviet scientists to the development of socialist political economics. Historiographic references to economic discussions of some basic problems, such, for example, as the proper understanding of the nature of state capitalism, the NEP, and others, would be desirable.

The views of contemporary bourgeois economist-forgers on many problems (such, for example, as workers' control, the nature of Soviet nationalization, the interpretation of the nature of the NEP, and the growth of capitalist elements under the NEP) are given. Yet we must note an inconsistency in the choice of major topics to be protected against falsification and distortion. Occasionally, the references given pertain not to the works of various authors, but to critical articles published in the Soviet press.

As a whole, the volumes published represent the beginning of a very important and necessary, multiple-level, fundamental, and meaningful study of the history of the Soviet economy, in which use is made of vast factual data to describe very powerfully the universal-historical significance of the Great October Revolution and real socialism, which sets the example for the most just organization of society in the interests of the working people.

FROM THE BOOKSHELF

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